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THE LANGUAGES AND LITERARY HISTORY OF PRE-ISLAMIC IRAN.

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Iran in Pre-Islamic days had a much wider extent than the land which we now know by that name. It included Iraq and parts of the modern Turkish Republic and also Azarbaijan and parts of Armenia on the west. To the north and east it included the Soviet states between the Caspian Sea and the Pamirs and also Balochistan and Afghanistan. Before the Aryans came and settled in this region it was inhabited by other races speaking languages belonging to other linguistic families. It would be quite interesting to consider in brief outline these Pre-Aryan languages also, because their literatures and culture did influence the Aryans to a considerable extent.

The Aryan Iranians were heirs of the Assyrians and Babylonians who in their turn had succeeded the Sumerians and the Elamites. Both these last mentioned peoples have left a number of inscriptions which throw considerable light upon their customs, religion and culture. Elam is interesting inasmuch as their land was bordering upon "Pārsa", the cradle land of the great Persian branch of the Iranians.[1] Elam was destroyed by the Assyrians under Assurbanipal about 645 B.C. Shortly afterwards (606 B.C.) Assyria herself perished at the hands of Huvakhshathra (Kuaxárēs) and Aryan rule began in Iran as the Empire of the Medes. Their kinsfolk, the Pārsa (Persians) had occupied the site of Elam already and shortly after the fall of Elam they were united as one people under the rule of Hakhāmanish (Achaimánēs).[2] His son Cishpis (Tei'spēs) divided the kingdom between his two sons, the elder, Kurush, getting Susiana or Elam proper, and the younger, Ariaramna, getting the salubrious highlands of Pārs.

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1. Elam proper is the modern province of Khuzistan. The later Elamite rulers seem to bear Aryan names, see Sykes, *History of Persia*, (2nd ed.), Vol. I, p. 91 and footnote 1.

2. The name Hakhāmanish means "friendly-minded", from Old Persian *hakhā* (Skt. *sakhā*) and *manish*, mind. (See A.H.M. Stonecipher, *Greco-Persian Names*, p. 32.)

The grandson of Kurush I. was Kurush the Great, who conquered Media and Babylon and founded the great Persian (Achaemenian) Empire (550 B.C.) Thereupon Vi'shtāspa, (Hystāspēs) the grandson of Ariaramna, gave up his claim to Pars in favour of Kurush and loyally helped him in consolidating the newly won empire. Thus the Persians were in a sense the direct heirs of Elam, and the ancient city of Susa remained for many centuries afterwards one of the "royal cities" of Iran.[3] The influence of Elam on the Iranians has not been very clearly made out.[4] In language there seems to have been very little borrowed beyond a few place names.

The Elamites had received their culture from the earlier Sumerians. The languages of both the races were agglutinating in type, though we have not sufficient data to assert whether they were at all related.[5] The Sumerians come upon the stage of history with a fully developed culture. "We have no knowledge of the time when the Sumerians were savages: when we first meet them in the fourth millennium B.C., they are already a civilised metal-using people, living in great and populous cities, possessing a complicated system of writing, and living under the government of firmly established civil and religious dynasties and hierarchies."[6] These people seem to have come over into Mesopotamia from the East, and Elam was "no doubt a stage in their progress".[7] The Sumerians brought into Mesopotamia the

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3. The others were Babylon, Hagmatāna (Ecbatana, modern Hamadān), the capital of Media, and above all Persepolis, the centre of Persian Aryan culture.

4. One remarkable point of resemblance between Iranian Zoroastrianism and Elamite religion is formed in the "six deities of the first rank grouped in two triads" who were associated with Shushinah, the Supreme Deity of Elam (Sykes, op. cit., p. 54). Another remarkable resemblance was in the disposal of the dead particularly where the burial was secondary. In this "the bones were only interred after the flesh had decayed, probably, that is, after exposure, and the skeleton is often incomplete. This rite was characteristic of Elam in subsequent periods also; the previous exposure of the corpse may be the origin of Zoroastrian and Parsi usage, which has only dispensed with the subsequent interment" (V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the most Ancient East* (1934, p. 233)

5. Some scholars seem to hold the opinion that all agglutinating languages may be ultimately traced to one original type.

6. H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, (1920), p. 172. Since the publication of this fine work the great discovery of the Indus Valley culture at Mohenjo-Daro has opened out a new avenue of approach to the problems of ancient cultures.

7. Op. cit., p. 173.

art of writing, as well as religious and cultural ideas. Their language, too, seems to have been of the agglutinating type.[8]

The Sumerians were conquered and later on absorbed by the Akkadians and the Babylonians, both Semitic by race. A Semitic Empire was now established at the head of the Persian Gulf. The first dynasty of Babylon was established about 2225 B. C. The Babylonians, though conquerors, were themselves conquered by the superior culture and the more developed religion of the Sumerians they had replaced. The ancient language, too, continued to be used for all liturgical and ritual purposes and it is to this we owe our knowledge of the Sumerian tongue. The Babylonians seem to have studied it assiduously and to have written text-books and glossaries for the use of those who wished to learn the sacred language of their ritual. Naturally the Sumerian script was also

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8. Op. cit., pp. 173-174. The whole passage is worth quoting: "The ethnic type of the Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs, was as different from those races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans, or others; they were decidedly Indian in type. The face type of the average Indian of today is no doubt much the same as that of his Dravidian race-ancestors thousands of years ago. Among the modern Indians, as among the modern Greeks or Italians, the ancient pre-Aryan type of the land has survived (as the primitive type of the land always does), while that of the Aryan conqueror died out long ago. But it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home (perhaps of the Indus valley) that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented, and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar "cuneiform" appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stylus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam. This seems a plausible theory of Sumerian origins, and it must be clearly understood that it is offered by the present writer merely as a theory, which has no direct evidence to back it, but seems possible". These words are found in the fifth edition of the book (1920); but they were actually written in 1912. Ten years later, in 1922, the site of Mohenjo-Daro was discovered by Rakhal Das Banerji, in the very region Hall had indicated and brilliantly proving the truth of his tentative suggestions. See also the article of Suniti Kumar Chatterji on "The recent Discoveries in Sindh and the Panjab" in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1925. Recently Father H. Heras, of the St Xavier's College, Bombay, has been working on the deciphering of the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions, on the supposition that the language is Dravidian in structure. It would seem that he is not far wrong.

taken over and with gradual changes it was adapted to the use of the Semitic Babylonian language.

Of course the Babylonians carried forward the civilisation they had inherited from the Sumerians, and made great progress in various directions, notably in Astronomy and in Medicine. Above all they were untiring chroniclers and have recorded almost all the important events that had happened during the days of their power. And they also produced a great literature, which they carefully stored in their royal libraries. Luckily for posterity Nabonidus, "the last king of the last Babylonian dynasty" (555-539 B. C.) was a learned and enthusiastic archaeologist and scholar. It was owing to his labours that a very large amount of material relating to ancient Babylonia, which had been scattered during the domination of the warlike Assyrians, was gathered together and preserved.

To Babylon goes the honour of having compiled the very first code of laws known to mankind. This was the famous Code of Hammurabi (about 2123-2080 B. C.), which was discovered at Susa in 1901, and the stele on which it was inscribed is now in the Louvre. These laws were certainly of Sumerian origin, and most of the enactments were eminently equitable and just.[9]

The second dynasty of Babylon, the Kassite, was undoubtedly Aryan by race. They ruled over Babylon for quite seven centuries (1925-1165 B. C.). But it is surprising to find that they did not leave any permanent mark upon the people or their culture. The reason seems to be that the Kassites were, compared with the Babylonians, at a lower stage of culture. In fact very soon they became Babylonians in all respects except the personal names of their kings and nobles.

During the rule of the Kassite dynasty at Babylon another Aryan nation[10] also comes upon the stage of history—the Mitanni. These too had established their power in the neighbourhood, but they too like the Kassites seem to have had very little influence upon Babylonian culture. The Mitanni deities, bearing names closely resembling those of the Vedic gods, have suggested an entirely new

9. Hall, op. cit., pp. 202 ff. gives a good summary. See also Chilperic Edwards, *The World's Earliest Laws* (1934), which gives a translation and detailed notes on this Code.

10. There is no ethnological signification implied in this term "Aryan". What is meant is merely the people speaking one of the languages of the Aryan branch of the Indo-European family. Of course, this implies a special type of culture also.

approach to the problems of the origin and home of Vedic (in fact of Aryan) culture and religion.

These Aryan people brought with them one very important animal unknown hitherto to the Babylonians, namely the horse. The animal known to and used by the Semitic people of Mesopotamia was the ass. The grassy plains of Central Asia was the original home of the horse. There it had been domesticated by the Aryans, and the tableland of Iran suited the animal admirably. In Babylonian inscriptions the animal has been called "the mountain-ass", which clearly indicates the route along which it was introduced into Mesopotamia[11]. Among the later Aryans (Iranians) the horse constituted a very important part of the army, and played an important part in the cultural activities of the race.

It seems, however, that the migration of the Aryan Kassites and Mitanni into ancient Iran was not on a large scale, but merely represented sporadic bands. The whole question bristles with difficulties, and the recent discoveries of Hittite and Tokharian documents have made the matter even more complicated.[12] Besides it is very necessary to make further and more intensive archeological research in Asia Minor and elsewhere before we can hope to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the Aryan migrations into what we call Iran today.

The very name *Irān* is the shorter form of *Irān-vēj (Airyana-vaēja* in Avesta) and means "the Seed (*i.e.*, the cradle-land) of the Aryan". Among the speakers of Indo-European languages two races called themselves by the proud name of *Arya* (noble), these were the Indians and the Iranians. It might be of some interest to see how these Aryan (Indo-Iranian) languages are placed in the

11. The horse was introduced among the Semitic people somewhat before the Kassite domination, about 2000 B.C. Soldiers of the Kassite race used to serve in the Babylonian army under the First Dynasty. (Hall, op. cit., pp. 203 and 213.)

12. A. B. Keith has discussed the complexities of this problem (as it stood in 1917) in his article on "The Early History of the Indo-Iranians" contributed to the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (pp. 81-92). Since then a great deal of new research has been carried on concerning the Hittite and the Tokharian languages and their relations with the other languages of the Indo-European family. The latest idea seems to be that there was first of all a separation of the Indo-Hittite group, which in its turn separated into the Hitte-Tokharian group on one side and the remaining Indo-European languages on the other. (See the diagram given by E. H. Sturtevant in *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (Yale, 1933), p. 30.) It would be rash at the present time to make any dogmatic assertions.

Indo-European family. The primary division of these languages is into two groups, the *śatam*-group and the *centum*-group. In the "parent-language" there was a palatalised velar (represented by $*\hat{k}$) which became a sibilant *s* or *ś* in the first group, but remained a pure velar *k* in the second. The typical word taken to illustrate this is the word for "hundred" in these languages, which has given the names of these two groups.

Thus :

śatam-group—Sanskrit *śatam*, Avesta *satem*, Persian *sad*, Old (Church) Slavic *sūto* ;

centum-group—Latin *centum*, Old Irish *cēt*, Greek *hé-katon*, Gothic *hund*, Tokharian *kandh*.[13] At first it was believed that these two groups represented Asiatic and European languages respectively, but the discovery of Hittite and Tokharian in Asia has made that idea no longer tenable.

The main branches of the Indo-European languages in each of these two groups, arranged geographically from east to west. are as under :

I. *śatam*-group—
1. Aryan (or Indo-Iranian) comprising,
   (*i*) Indian
   (*ii*) Dardic
   (*iii*) Iranian
2. Armenian
3. Balto-Slavic (or Letto-Slavic)
4. Albanian

II. *centum*-group—
5. Tokharian
6. Hittite
7. Greek
8. Germanic
9. Italic }
10. Keltic. }

The last two branches are very closely connected, and form a linguistic group almost as close as the Indo-Iranian.

It can be seen that the Aryan branch is divided into three subdivisions, Indian, Dardic and Iranian. These three are very closely bound together and their mutual resemblances are far closer than are to be found between any two languages of the other branches. The Dardic, as can be seen from the "tree", occupies a midway position both geographically as well as linguistically. At the present time Dardic languages are spoken

13. Note that the *c* in Latin and Old Irish is pronounced as *k*, and that the *h* in Gothic is pronounced like the Arabic *kh* ( ). In the Greek the *he'*- is a prefix, the essential part of the word being *katon*.

by a few mountain tribes in the region to the north and west of Kashmir, known as Dardistan or the land of the Dards. These people have been mentioned in the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas where they are called *darada* or *dārada*. The Sanskrit writers seem to have looked upon them as a degraded sort of Aryans, and they have been often called *Pishāca*, demons, and their language has been named *Paishācī*. At one time these Dards had spread widely over northern and western India, but they had to retreat to their mountains before the oncoming tide of Indo-Aryans. And today they live in almost inaccessible mountains.[14] But their languages have left their impress on Indo-Aryan, especially on Panjābī and Sindhī, and even on the northern Nepālī and the far southern Konkanī. Only one of the Dardic languages, Kashmīrī, has developed a fairly good literature.[15]

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14. Sir G. A. Grierson mentions in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. I, Part 1, p. 110) that for a specimen of the Wasi-Veri (or Veron) dialect of the Kāfir group the officers concerned could get hold of none but a wild and half stupid shepherd from some valley. The poor fellow could only talk his own language and was moreover badly frightened when caught for the purpose of the linguistic survey. An old man, a Bashgali, was however discovered who somehow contrived to interpret and the result is recorded in the eighth volume of the Survey.

15. A Table of the Dardic languages might be here appended :

Dardic or Piśāca Languages :

1, Khōwār group (passing insensibly into Pamir Iranian)—Citrālī
2. Kāfīr grup :
   Bashgalī
   Wai-alā
   Wasi-veri (Veron)
   Ashkund
   Kalāshā Pashai
3. Dard group :
   i. Shīnā :
      Gilgitī
      Brokpā (Highland dialects)
   ii. Kāshmīrī :
      Kāshmīrī (literary)
      Mixed dialects (passing insensibly into Panjābī)
      Kashtwarī
   iii. Kōhistānī :
      Maiyā (or Indus Kōhistānī, passing insensibly into Shīnā)
      Gārwī
      Torwālī

As is the case with India, the linguistic history of Iran can be dealt with under three periods, the Ancient, the Middle and the Modern. But while in the Indian languages it is quite possible to trace the Modern Indo-Aryan in unbroken continuity right upto its Old Indo-Aryan prototype (of the Vedic age), it is not possible to get a similar clear linguistic history of Iran. One reason for this is the extreme paucity of literary remains[16] in the earlier stages of Iranian speech.

The Table herewith appended indicates the Iranian languages at various stages of their history. A mere glance at it will show the numerous gaps in the continuity. These languages are arranged also in two main divisions more or less geographically, the East Iranian and the West Iranian. At the Old Iranian stage this seems to have been a real linguistic division also, and the typical East Iranian was Avesta, and the typical West Iranian was Old Persian of the Achaemenian Inscriptions. But migrations of tribes in later times have mixed up the descendants of the Old Iranian languages.[17]

Tables of Iranian Languages

Old Iranian	Middle Iranian	Modern Iranian
EASTERN		
—	—	Balōchī :
		Eastern Balōchī
		Makrānī (Western)
Avesta - Gāthā - Younger Avesta	—	Afghān :
		Pakhtō (North-east)
		Pashtō (South-west)
—	Soghdian	Ghalchāh (Pamir dialects) :
		Yaghnōbī
		Yidghān
		Munjanī
		Sariqōlī
		Rōshanī
		Shighnī (Kughnī)
		Ishkāshmī
		Wakhī
Sarmatian	—	Ossetic

16. Under the term "literary remains" are to be included inscriptions as as well as coins,

17. This same reason has probably led Grierson (op. cit., pp. 102 ff.) to divide Iranian languages into Persic (Western) and Medic (Eastern). The latter name, however, is not a very happy choice. Elsewhere Grierson speaks of the "Non-Persian" languages of Iran. See also the chart of Modern Iranian dialects given in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I. 2, p. 421, which shows clearly how the dialects have been distributed over the map of Iran.

WESTERN		
Old Scythian	Saka (Khotan)	—
—	Turfan : Dialect 1 Dialect 2	—
—	—	Central dialects. Gabrī Sivendī Niyānī Kāshānī
—	—	Caspian dialects Samnānī Māzandrānī Gīlākī (Darī) Tālī
Median		Ormūrī (Bargistā)
—	—	Kurdish
Old Persian	Pahlavī ; Huzvāresh Pāzand (Pārsī)	Perian (Fārsī or Irānī)

Old Iranian languages are so very close to Old Indian (Vedic) that very often a mere phonetic change is sufficient to *translate* a passage from the one into the other. Not merely is the translation accurate phonetically, but it also reproduces in a large measure the *spirit* of the original. This is specially observable as between Avesta and Sanskrit.[18] With Old Persian the resemblance is not so patently obvious, for here we find a number of words which have no equivalents in Sanskrit. But many of these, coming down into Modern Persian have been borrowed and have become current in our Modern Indian Vernaculars.[19]

Avesta is the easternmost among Old Iranian languages. It was the language used by the Prophet Zarathushtra in giving his message to the world. Though he himself is said to have been a West-Iranian, he preached in the language of Bākhdhī

18. See for example "A Sanskrit Version of Yasna IX" by myself in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, III (Orientalia). 2, pp. 37-90 In my own experience whenever I come across a difficult Avesta word, I first change it into its corresponding Sanskrit form and then look it up in a Vedic Dictionary or Concordance. In nine cases out of ten the meaning of the Vedic word suits the Avesta passage or at any rate points the way to its correct elucidation.

19. As examples we may quote from the opening sentences of the Naksh-i Rustam Inscription of Darius the Great : *vazarka* (*buzurg*), great ; *asmān* (*āsmān*), sky ; *shiyāti* (*shādī*), happiness etc.

(Balkh, Bactria) because his teaching was first accepted by the king of that region, Vīshtāspa. Hence the older scholars have also called it "Old Bactrian." Another name frequently used for the language is *Zand*. The Parsis have always named their Scriptures *Zand-Avesta*, which is derived from the Pahlavi *Awistāk-o-Zand*, Avesta and (its) explanation.[20] So this was the earlier name used by western scholars.

The original Scriptures had been collected and arranged in twenty-one *Nasks*.[21] It is believed that it was Darius the Great who had these transcribed upon parchment. Several copies were made and deposited in various places, one at Persepolis in his royal palace and the other in the royal treasury at Shapigān (Samarqand).[22] The whole work is said to have been written down, according to Taosar, "upon 12000 oxhides, and consisted of 1000 chapters." The copy in the royal palace at Persepolis was destroyed in the fire started by Alexander. But the other copy in the royal treasury at Shapigān is said to have been carried off by the Greeks, who had it translated into their language. "Perhaps, it is this translation that Pliny refers to, when he says, that Hermippus (3rd century B.C.) had commented upon the two millions of verses of the writings of Zoroaster".[23]

After these two copies had been lost to Iran, the texts of the religion lived mainly in the memory of the priests, and also

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20. The word *zand* (from *zan*, Sanskrit *jñā*, to know) means originally "knowledge" and hence there is the secondary meaning "explanation" or "commentary".

21. The original meaning of the word *nask* is "bound together", cf. Sanskrit *grantha*. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1060.

22. Sir Jivanji J Modi gives a fine account of this in his *Asiatic Papers*, Vol. I. (1905), pp. 111-136 He bases his account mainly on Pahlavi books and tradition. It may be noted, however, that the name of Darius the Great is nowhere mentioned by Pahlavi writers. See also Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, (Rome, 1931), pp. 26 ff.

23. Modi, loc. cit. In *The Mysteries of Mithra*, (1907), pp 18f., G. R. S. Mead says : "The conquest of the East by Alexander brought Greece into close contact with all the lands into which Magianism had directly spread itself, and this contact would aid in the diffusion of a knowledge of general Mazdaean tenets among the learned. Moreover, when Alexandria became the intellectual centre of the Grecian world, this interest in Magianism increased ; and we learn that one of the librarians of the famous Brychion, Hermippus, the pupil of Callimachus, not only wrote a work in several books *About the Magi*, but, if we can believe Pliny, he catalogued the works of Zoroaster in the possession of the great Library, and found that they added up to the amazing total of 2,000,000 lines."

possibly in some scattered manuscripts. It was chiefly the Priest-Princes of Persepolis who kept alive the ancient faith and kept the Scriptures as intact as possible during the five centuries that succeeded the Macedonian conquest and the hellenising of Iran. It was Valkhash I (51-78 A.D.) that got the first idea of reviving the faith of Zarathushtra. But the work was finally carried out completely by the first two rulers of the house of Sāsān almost two centuries later. At that time all the scattered texts were collected together, both from the memories of the priests as well as from any of the manuscripts available. The royal order was to preserve carefully "the Avesta and Zand" that had come down to those days. This constituted the last editing of the ancient Avesta texts.[24]

This text of the Avesta Nasks continued to be the main source of religious belief and custom till the Arab conquest and beyond. The whole of this Avesta literature was certainly available in the days of Khalīfa al-Ma'mūn (813-833 A.D.), because the great Pahlavi work, *Dēnkart,* gives a fairly detailed summary of this literature together with numerous quotations from portions now lost.

The destruction of Zoroastrian religious books began after the accession of al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.), and the provincial governors and the new dynasties established in the various portions of Islamic lands, vied with each other in persecuting the unbeliever. A good part of the ancient literature was thus destroyed, still a great deal was carefully guarded in secret spots. By that time the ancestors of the Parsis had found a new home in India and when the sacred books were sent away to safety they ultimately found their way into India.[25] The greatest

24. The late Professors F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel have tried to reconstruct the Arsacid (Parthian) text of the Gāthās, as made in the days of Valkhash. This attempt had been based on the Turfan discoveries. They have thus opened out an entirely new line of approach to the text criticism of the Gāthās. The text as they have reconstructed differs considerably from the generally accepted text as edited by Geldner. Since the death of Andreas other portions of the Gāthā have been brought out by H. Lommel from the notes of Andreas himself.

25. The date of the arrival of the Parsis in India has been the subject of much controversy and discussion. It seems to have been the year 936 A. D., the exact Hindu date given in a record which corresponds to 1st July of that year. See my paper on "The exact date of the arrival of the Parsis in India" in *Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane* (1941, pp. 506-514).

destruction came with the invasion of the Mongols in 1258 A.D. when the whole of Iran was overrun by their hordes and Moslem and non-Moslem suffered indiscriminately. The Zoroastrian books that survived that catastrophe are those that have come down to us today, the last remains of a once great literature.

The existing Avesta texts have been subdivided into several books for liturgical purposes. The first and the most important part is the *Yasna* in 72 "Hās" or chapters. Of these 17 chapters comprise the Gāthās.[26] These are linguistically the oldest part of the Avesta, and from inner evidence we may conclude that if they do not represent the actual words of the Prophet, they at least embody his teaching in the most authentic form. The Gāthās contain the fundamental truths of the Message of Zarathushtra, and as such they are the very basis of his religion. As with all great books of humanity the language, though very ancient, is quite straightforward and direct. It is the thought which is deep. To understand the true inward meaning of the Gāthās the life therein ordained must be lived, and as one does so "veil after veil will lift", making the inner message clearer and clearer. Western scholars have often maintained that Zarathushtra was a great man, perhaps the greatest, in his days; but, they go on to say, he has the limitations of his age. In saying so these worthy people forget that the true greatness of Zarathushtra lies in His *spiritual* height, which only the greatest among the Prophets have attained. He speaks with the fulness of Divine Wisdom, and to understand Him we have to reach that spiritual height from which he speaks. This point cannot be enough emphasised to all students, and it holds good not only for Zoroastrian studies but for the study of every religion. The remainder of the Yasna comprises liturgical formulas and some shorter hymns and admonitions about spiritual life. The Gāthās and a good proportion of the Yasna have been composed in verse.[27]

Very closely connected with the Yasna and almost as a supplement to it is the collection known as *Vīsparad* in 23 "Kardas"

26. The Gāthās: are five in number and they are distributed among the chapters of the Yasna thus: *Ahunavaiti* xxviii-xxxiv, *Ushtavaiti* xliii-xlvi, *Spentā-Mainyu* xlvii-l, *Vohu-Khshathra* li and *Vahishtāishti* liii.

27. The most remarkable prose portion of the Yasna is known as "Baghān Yasht" (xix-xxi) which is a "mystic" commentary on the three most sacred *mantras* of Zoroastrianism. These are linguistically also fairly ancient and thus constitute the earliest Iranian *zand*.

chapters). During the high Ijashne ceremony the chapters of the Yasna and the Vīsparad are recited interwoven together. Most of the Vīsparad consists of invocations to the various divine "powers" (Avesta, *ratavō*).[28] Some of the passages are of high ethical import and beauty.[29]

The next book is the *Vendīdād*, "the rules against the demons".[30] It is divided into 22 Fragards or sections. To the orthodox Zoroastrians this forms a very important work. Its contents are very varied. The first section, for example, describes the sixteen lands created by Ahura-Mazda and the "counter-creations" of the Evil One for the harasesment of God's good creation, and the second chapter describes the history of Yima-Khshaēta (Jamshed) one of the greatest rulers of prehistoric Iran. There are passages on pure legal matters, on the life of the Prophet, on agriculture, on doctors and priests and all sorts of subjects. But by far the largest portion of this book deals with the various demons and the ways of circumventing their evil designs. In particular the *Druj-Nasus* (the Demon of the Corpse) occupies the most important portion. There are besides countless other demons of all sorts to be avoided and the whole forms rather depressing reading, for there seems to be a fear of evil running through the whole work contrasting forcibly with the joyous hopefulness of the Gāthās. A great deal of the contents of the Vendīdād undoubtedly represents very ancient beliefs, and many of them are the result of contact with other races and beliefs. It seems also from the grammatical structure of the Vendīdād (which is in prose) that its composition *in its present form* belongs actually to the Middle Iranian (Sasanian) period. These passages seem often more like translations made from Pahlavi rather than original Avesta.[31]

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28. Hence the name Vīsparad (*vīspe ratavō*), 'all the Powers".

29. For example the opening of Karda xv : "Hold in readiness your feet, your hands and your understanding, O Zoroastrian Worshippers of the Lord, for fulfilling of lawful deeds in accordance with the sacred law and for the avoidance of unlawful and evil deeds contrary to sacred rules," etc.

30. The full form is *vī-daēva-dāta*, anti-demon-rules.

31. Moulton, speaking about the difficulty of fixing the date of "the late prose contained in the Avesta itself, which included the bulk of the Vendidad", makes the following remarks : The grammatical chaos which prevails so often in prose parts of the Avesta, or in what appears to be interpolations of prose inserted in the older verse, demonstrates that later Avestan dialect was dead when these belated efforts at composition were made. They may therefore very well be due to the Sassanian editors themselves, to whom in any case we owe the collection and preservation of our Avesta" (*Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, p. 34).

These three form the ritual and liturgical matter of the Avesta and all the three are used largely in the longer and more complex ceremonial even to this day.[32] There is besides a miscellaneous collection of hymns and shorter occasional prayers which are collected together under the name of the *Khordeh-Avesta* (literally, "minor Avesta"). This forms the daily book of common prayer for the Zoroastrians. The most important parts of the Khordeh-Avesta are the Yashts, or songs of praise. These are arranged in the order of the deities invoked. These are made up of various fragments referring to one deity pieced together rather loosely. Some of the ideas are quite the same as those found in the Vedas, while there are other later beliefs also mixed up with these. Sometimes we can clearly see that the language of one and the same Yasht belongs to two or more different periods. In short it seems that all available passages referring to one divine being are put together as the Yasht of that particular one. Many of these are quite long and full of interesting mythological and historical information.[33] There are besides shorter litanies, called Nyāish, meant for daily use and devoted to the five divine beings, Khurshēt (the Sun), Mihr (Mithra), Māh (the Moon), Ābān (the Waters) and Atash (Fire). Of these five the last is the most poetical and deeply spiritual in import. Then there are the Āfrīngāns (words of blessing) which are used for special occasions like ceremonies for the dead and various seasonal festivals. There are also the five Gāhs each dedicated to the "lord" of one of the five periods into which the day is divided.[34]

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32. In the "Vendīdād ceremony" all the three are interwoven according to a fixed order. See Geldner's chapter on "Avestaliteratur" in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.* There is a very good English translation of this excellent chapter by Geldner made by Dr. D. Mackichan for *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana*, 1904 (pp. 1-82).

33. The Zamyād Yasht, for instance, contains the mythical history of Iran which has later on been embodied in the National Epic of Firdawsī.

34. The day with the Zoroastrians began at midnight and the five Gāhs were : 1. Ushahina, from midnight to sunrise ; 2. Hāvana, from sunrise to midday ; 3. Rapithwina, from midday to mid-afternoon ; 4. Uzyeirina, from mid-afternoon to sunset and 5. Aiwisruthrima, from sunset to midnight. Each of these is also associated with other "spiritual lords" (*ashahe ratavō*), these five making a regular series ever rising in spiritual stature till the height of Zarathushtra is attained. See my small book on *A Few Daily Prayers from the Zarathoshti Scriptures*, 1939, pp. 132-134. The Islamic Nemāz (also enjoined five times daily) is an obvious parallel.

One very important portion of the Khordeh-Avesta is made up of Pahlavi-Pazand recitations. Every longer piece in the Avesta Texts, including all the Yashts and Nyāishes, begins and ends with fixed Pahlavi-Pazand formulas. There are besides independent Pahlavi-Pazand recitations of varied lengths. These were composed for special occasions by the learned Dasturs of Sassanian times. The main idea seems to have been that the ordinary laymen might have a set of "prayers" for daily as well as for special use *in the language which they spoke and could thus understand what they recited.* Some of these, like the "Doā Nām Sitāyishn" (Praising the Name of the Lord), are pieces of great beauty and are spiritually truly elevating.

In addition to all these there are a number of "fragments" in the Avesta language. Some of these are fairly long pieces, like the first three chapters of the *Hādōkht Nask,* all that has survived of that Nask.[35] There are also several smaller but well connected pieces, like the exquisite *Vīspa Humata.* The majority of the fragments, however are mere quotations or unconnected passages, sometimes even stray phrases and words, found in the Pahlavi translations and commentaries. We are unable to trace the original sources of these. There are also certain "insertions" found within the Avesta Texts themselves, which disturb the sense and the metre of the passages where they occur. Very probably they formed part of an earlier commentary on these passages written in the Avesta language. Finally there are two fairly long Avesta passages known by Pahlavi names *Afrīn-i Pēgāmbar Zartusht* and *Vīshtāsp Yasht.*[36] Both these are sometimes included in the Khordeh-Avesta. They are evidently compositions of a very late date, for the language is hopelessly corrupt grammatically.

One other language of the Eastern group of Old Iranian has been admitted recently by scholars. This is Sarmatian. It is known to us from a few proper names and a few words that have come down to us. It was probably the ancestor of modern Ossetic.[37]

Among languages of the Western group of Old Iranian three have been recognised by scholars—Old Scythian, Median and Old

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35. These three chapters are usually reckoned among the Yashts, the first being called Yasht 21 and the next two chapters put together as Yasht 22 by Westergaard.

36. These two are also included among the Yashts by Westergaard and numbered 23 and 24 respectively. Geldner however has omitted all "fragments" from his standard edition of the Avesta Texts.

37. E. Kieckers, *Die Sprachstämme der Erde*, 1931, p. 6.

Persian. Of these the first is slightly better known than Sarmatian, for in addition to a few proper names we have also some glosses.[38] Probably it was the ancestor of the Middle Iranian Saka dialect of the Khotan documents.

The Medes were historically the first Aryan rulers of Iran proper. After they had conquered Assyria their language assumed an important position in the land. But unfortunately no records whatever in the Median language, neither inscriptions nor coins, have survived. All we have got is a number of proper names of kings and nobles, and we have a few Median words recorded by Greeks.[39] Strabo had definitely mentioned that "the language of the Medes closely resembled that of the Persians, the Aryans, the Bactrians and the Soghdians".[40] Oppert thought that the language standing second in the trilingual inscriptions of Darius the Great was Median. But it has now been definitely proved that this language is the ancient language of Elam and is agglutinating in structure. Darmeateter held the view that Median was the same as Avesta. Some hold the view that the Medians, though they spoke an Iranian language, employed Assyrian for all their writings.[41]

The deciphering of the Old Persian Inscriptions by Rawlinson has been one of the romances of scholarship.[42] We have very good material available to enable us to form a good idea of the language. We have a series of fine and extremely well-preserved inscriptions from the days of Darius the Great onwards.[43] The finest of all is the first inscription of Darius at Behistun. We can even trace the "deterioration" of the

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38. Kieckers, loc. cit.

39. See *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Vol. I. 2, pp. 413-414. Herodotus has expressly mentioned *spa'ka* dog, as a Median word. A fair number of words in Modern Iranian languages are believed to have been derived from Median.

40. Strabo, xv. 2.8, quoted by Sykes, op. cit., p. 121.

41. Sykes, loc. cit. Moulton also discusses the linguistic affinities of the Medians in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 228-235.

42. A very readable account of this is given in David Master's book on *The Romance of Excavation*, chapter IX.

43. There is one line in Old Persian on the great statue of Kurush at Passargadae. This is the only Old Persian record of the Founder of the Achaemenian Empire; all his other records are in Babylonian. Quite recently an important Old Persian inscription of Darius was discovered in the palace at Susa, the famous gold plate from Hamadan and the numerous fragments discovered at Persepolis have added further information.

language as we proceed from the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes to those of Artaxerxes and later rulers. "The inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes are composed in a language coherent and manifestly correct. Those of Artaxerxes II are on the other hand very incorrect, and as for that of Artaxerxes III it is simply barbarous", such is the considered verdict of Meillet, one of the greatest authorities on the subject.[44] The same deterioration is evident also in the whole tone of the later inscriptions. "Concurrently with the decay of language appear signs of degeneration in creed; Ahuramazda no longer stands alone, but is associated with other gods, Mithra (the Sun) and Anahita (Venus)".[45]

The largest number of inscriptions and also the most interesting and important ones are those of Darius the Great. The great inscription of Behistun is perhaps the earliest. Darius was elected to the throne in 521 B.C. and as the Behistun inscription narrates the events immediately following, the crushing one after the other of the nine rebellions against him, we may date this at about 519 B.C. In his longer inscriptions Darius always indicates the extent of his empire and so they form very important bits of historical evidence. One of the most interesting of his records is that discovered at Suez describing the construction of a canal uniting the Nile and the Red Sea. These inscriptions have "in them a directness, a dignity, a simplicity and straightforwardness of diction, which entitle us to regard them as having a real literary style."[46] And all through Darius speaks of himself as a servant of Ahuramazda. The final admonition of this truly great King on his last resting place at Naksh-i Rustam is quite scriptural in its simplicity and grandeur. The King says, after narrating all the great achievements of his life :

"What I have done, that did I all by the grace of Ahuramazda : Ahuramazda vouchsafed me help till I completed the work. May Ahuramazda protect me from evil, and also my house and these lands ! For this do I pray to Ahuramazda ; may Ahuramazda vouchsafe me this !'

" O man ! This is Ahuramazda's command to thee : Think no evil ; abandon not the right path ; sin not !"

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44. *Grammaire du viuex Perse*, p. 19

45. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1909, Vol. I, p. 95.

46. Ibid., p. 93. Browne quotes there several examples of linguistic deterioration.

Of the Middle Iranian languages of the Eastern group we have information about one only, Soghdian. Its grammar had been worked out by Robert Gauthiot before his death in the First World War. The discovery of this Middle Iranian language was made through the finds of the Peillot expedition to Central Asia. Several Buddhist works in this language were discovered and were published in France. In his introduction to the Soghdian Grammar Gauthiot has given a very fine account of the various Iranian and other races that had inhabited that region since Achaemenian times.[47] There are reasons to believe that some of the Modern Pamir dialects, particularly Yaghnōbī, are descended from Soghdian.

The Western Middle Iranian languages are fairly closely connected together. The Saka is known from several Buddist writings discovered a good many years ago. It was probably a descendant of the Old Scythian. The two Turfan dialects are quite noteworthy. They were discovered as a result of the Central Asian expeditions at the beginning of the present century. A great deal of the literature in these refers to Manichaeism and as such they have proved to be of great use in unravelling the history of an important religious movement of the Sasanian period. Linguistically these dialects have given a clue to the pronunciation of some of the Avesta characters and thus have thrown a great deal of light upon the original form of the Avestan Texts. The late Professors Andreas and Wackernagel have worked out the original Parthian Text of the Gāthā Ahunavaiti in this manner.[48]

The most important of the Middle Iranian languages is Pahlavi, the spoken and written speech of Sasanian Iran. It is a very peculiar language in many ways, and it is difficult to say whether as actually spoken in Sasanian days it was as mixed as it appears to be in script. The script of Pahlavi is of two types, that of the inscriptions and that of manuscripts and books. Inscriptional Pahlavi is quite clear and legible for it has one sign for one sound. The signs of Book-Pahlavi on the other hand are very confusing, because many of them

47. See his *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne*, Premiere Partie, Paris, 1914-1923, pp. i-xviii. Two good maps of the region where the Soghdian finds were made are also given.

48. The Avesta script, as found in the manuscripts and as used in the printed editions today, is a simplification and adaptation of the confusing Pahlavi script of the Sasanian days. The Turfan writings, being much clearer, have helped to establish with greater certainly the pronunciation of Middle Iranian words. Thus the phonetic values of the derived Avesta signs can also be established with a fair amount of certainty.

represent more than one sound. Originally they were signs used in ancient Aramaic and being cursive many of them eventually assumed closely similar forms. Thus one sign has the values of *i, y, g, d, j*, or *e*. Some manuscripts use diacritical marks to indicate the sounds more exactly, but in most cases they are omitted as in the *shikasta* style of Persian writing. Then there is the inherent difficulty of the Semetic script adopted by Pahlavi, namely, that short vowels are unrepresented. There is yet another special difficulty in the cursive ligatures developed in Pahlavi writing, so that one combination of signs written together without lifting the pen might be read in a dozen different ways.[49] Of course by practice a certain amount of fluency in reading may be attained. These are only the preliminary difficulties in the deciphering of Pahlavi. The main difficulty lies in what is known as the "Semetic element" in the writing. The script being entirely of Semetic origin whole words are written down in their unaltered Semetic forms, and when read they are read as the corresponding "Aryan" (Iranian) words. Thus the actual word written is *malak*, but it is read as *shāh*, king ; so also the written word may be *gabrā*, but it is read as *mard*, man. These are known as "logograms" and the great majority of words in books are of this type. Even pronouns and all the ordinary verbs are written down in this manner. A still further complication is introduced when sometimes the Iranian ending is added on to the Semitic root word. Thus *ab* is found often written as *abitar* and read in the Iranian way as *pitar*, father.

This confusing script was found to be a real difficulty when it came to the question of writing down correctly the ancient Avesta texts. The Semetic script had to be adapted to the needs of the Aryan language. And an adaptation of the cursive Pahlavi was arranged strictly adhering to the principle of one sign for one sound. In course of time there arose a movement to aryanise completely the Pahlavi language and to write it exactly as it was spoken. For this purpose the Avesta script was used, and when Pahlavi is written in this manner it is called "Pāzand" or "Pārsī".

Pahlavi has been influenced profoundly by the Semetic element in other directions in addition to its script, for often its syntax and word order even is of the Semetic type. One good

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49. Thus the sign may be read as an independent sign for *a*, *ā*, *kh* or *h*, or it may stand for the sign doubled and may thus have the value of any two of the sounds *i*, *y*, *g*, *d*, *j* or *e* taken together.

resulted from this, namely that the complexities of Old Iranian grammar disappeared almost entirely and the language became analytic in structure as contrasted with the synthetic structure of its parent Old Iranian.[50] Modern Persian is merely a continuation of Pahlavi[51] and it is at the present day the most analytic of all the Indo-European languages.[52] How close Pahlavi (especially in its Pzand form) was to Modern Persian can be seen from the following passage :

"Dīn bēh rāst va dorost, ke Khudāe bar khalk ferestādeh īn hast, ke Zartosht āvordeh hast ; dīn dīn-e Zartosht dīn-e Ahurmazd dādeh Zartosht bishakk ve bigumān rāst dīn-e Zartosht Sapitamān. Ae Yazdān, ba dargāhe tō hazārān hazār, bīvar hazāran hazār sepās mīkunam, ke dar dīn-e Zartosht marā paedā bekard ; az barakkat-e dīn-e ū man dar Garothmān yakīn khvāham shūd. Yakīn khvāham ke jumle baste-kustiāne nīkukerdārāne haft keshvar zamīn, bā mā hamā-zōr bād."

(The good faith, true and complete, that the Lord sent upon earth, is that faith which Zartosht brought ; the faith, the faith of Zartosht, the faith of Ahurmazd given unto Zartosht is assuredly and without any doubt the true religion of Zartosht Sapitamān. O Worshipful Lord, I offer thanks to thee, thousand-

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50. In synthetic languages the mutual relation of words in a sentence are indicated by grammatical endings and the order of words is *not* of primary importance. Sanskrit, Avesta, Old Persian are languages of this type. When in the course of history different races come together there is necessarily a mutual give and take in matter of their languages also. As a result the grammatical structure of synthetic languages is broken down by the undiscerning "foreigner". Old Persian in its later stages shows clearly a "barbarous" structure, which may be owing to contact with other races of the far-flung Achaemenian empire. Once this synthetic structure is broken down the word order becomes more important and the place of the lost grammatical endings is eked out by means of prepositions and other particles and the structure of the language becomes "analytic". During the centuries following Alexander's conquest Iran had become the meeting place of many races and cultures and necessarily the language had changed from synthetic to analytic. The capital of the Parthians was at Ctesiphon (near ancient Babylon), the centre of the Semetic world of culture in those days. Naturally therefore the influence of Semetic is the strongest in Pahlavi.

51. Pahlavi, in its Pāzand or Pārsī form was the vernacular of Iran at the time of the Arab conquest. Hence originated the Arab form of the name, *Fārsī* for the modern language of Iran.

52. The *formal* grammar of Modern Persian can be literally written down on a single sheet of notepaper. This can actually be seen in W. St. Clair-Tisdall's *Modern Persian Conversation Grammar*, (Heidelberg, 1902), p. ix, where he has given the "Persian Paradigms (Epitome of the Accident)."

fold and ten thousandfold that Thou didst grant me birth in the faith of Zartosht. Through the merit of this His faith I will certainly reach Garothmān.[53] I most earnestly desire that the whole congregation of those who tie on the sacred girdle[54] and are doers of good deeds through all this world of the seven regions may become sharers[55] (of its joys) with us).[56]

It will be seen that except for a few words which are technical terms of Zoroastrianism, the whole is pure Persian and quite clear to any student of that language.

Pahlavi language was flourishing from the 3rd century[57] to close upon the 12th or 13th century of the Christian era. It certainly had produced a great amount of literature of all sorts. A good deal of it was destroyed when persecutions of the Zoroastrians began in Iran in right earnest about the middle of the 9th century. Naturally the Zoroastrians took special care for the preservation of the religious works, and so what has survived is almost entirely of a theological character. Still a few books on other subjects too are known to exist.[58] Under the term "literature" we should also add inscriptional and numismatic material, at any rate when considering old and "dead" languages.

Inscriptional Pahlavi is fairly easy to read, apart from the intrinsic difficulty of deciphering worn out inscriptions and coins.[59]

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53. Garothmān, from Avesta *Garō-demāna* (the abode on high), is the highest heaven of Zoroastrian theology.

54. All Zoroastrians, both men and women, wear the sacred girdle (Kustī) round the waist. Hence they are called *baste-kushtīān*. It is remarkble that in the Nirang (supplement or epilogue) to the Sraosha Yasht there is a reference to *Tāzīkān baste-kustīān*, Arabs who wore the sacred girdle.

55. Literally, "having the same strength", hence co-workers or co-sharers.

56. This passage is from the Pāzand Nirang (or epilogue) which is to be recited after the daily recital of the Nyāish and Yasht. See Kanga, *Khordeh-Avesta bā Māenī* (10th edition, Bombay, 1926), pp. 425-426.

57. The beginning of Pahlavi is seen in legends on coins as early as the first century of Christ.

58. A detailed account of Pahlavi literature is given by E. W. West in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II, pp. 75-129.

59. Pahlavi inscriptions have been treated in various articles in the learned journals. There is a good account by Edward Thomas in his book on *Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins* (London, 1868). On Sassanian coins the earliest work done was by Sylvertre de Sacy (1793). Other scholars like Mordtmann, West, Fr. Müller, Andreas, Drouin and J. Morgan have carried on this work. The latest book in English on this subject is F. D. J. Paruck's *Sassanian Coins* (Bombay, 1924). On Inscriptions of Sasanian Iran the most detailed book is Ernst Herzfeld's *Pāikulī* (Berlin, 1924).

Sasanian coins and gems and seals are fairly plentiful.[60] Sasanian Shāhān-Shāhs were fond of erecting monuments commemorating their great deeds both in sculpture and inscriptions. Among these the most important are the inscriptions of Hājīābād and Pāikulī. The former is in a cave near Persepolis and is the most legible of the Pahlavi inscriptions. It relates to the archery practice of Shāpūr I. (240-271 A. D.). The Pāikulī inscription relates to Narshī, on which Andreas was one of the first workers.

Several Pahlavi inscriptions have been discovered in India also. The famous inscription on the cross at the Mount of St. Thomas at Madras is remarkable, and there are other similar crosses found elsewhere in India.[61] There is a copper-plate grant to the Syrian Christian Church in southern India which bears ten signatures in Pahlavi characters as attesting witnesses.[62] But the most interesting of all are the four Pahlavi inscriptions dated 378 and 390 of the Yazdagirdi era (corresponding to 1009 and 1021 A. D. respectively). These record the visit of two bands of Iranians to the Buddhist caves at Kanheri about 20 miles to the north of Bombay. These have been discussed by West[63] and others; and it does seem strange that foreigners should have been allowed *to engrave* a record of their visit to a Buddhist sanctuary.[64]

"Three centuries after these...left their names in one of the Kanheri caves, the oldest surviving Pahlavi MS., preserved by the Parsis of India was written at Cambay in 1325.[65] It seems that when the Parsis came to India they had brought with them

60. There is a collection of about 500 Sassanian gems and seals in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, which yet await investigation. These were collected in the Panjab, from round about Taxila. In those days Taxila was a great centre of learning attracting large numbers of foreign students.

61. The latest such cross discovered was in the Travancore state in 1921. Sir J. J. Modi discussing this particular discovery also gives a brief account of the earlier crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions found in India (*Asiatic Papers*, Vol. IV pp. 1-18).

62. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VII, p. 343.

63. *Indian Antiquary*, IX (1880), pp. 265-268.

64. In his paper on "Pahlavi Literature" in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, West clearly mentions that although these were engraved, "they must first have been written upon the...rock before the engraver began his work" (p 79). This certainly implies permission having been obtained previously, because the cave-temples in those days were full of devout pilgrims, and not tenantless ruins in a wilderness as they now are.

65. West, loc cit. This manuscript was the famous codex K 5; for details see op. cit, p. 84.

certain manuscripts, but in course of time they were lost and these had to be replaced by copies from Persia.[66] The work of copying and recopying these manuscripts used to be an important occupation of many priests right up to the last century.[67] The colophons appended to these copies supply very important and interesting material for the history of these texts.

The Pahlavi texts that have survived in this manner can be divided into three classes : 1. Pahlavi Translations of Avesta texts, 2. Pahlavi texts not directly translated from an Avesta original and also original Pahlavi works of theological import, and 3. Pahlavi works on other subjects not intimately connected with theology. Of these the first often quote from the texts and almost always intermingle the translation with commentary. In these translations the Pahlavi writers almost slavishly follow the Avesta original even as regards the syntactical arrangement. With the commentary part they are more natural, but their comments are entirely in the light of their Sasanian ideas of life and often entirely at variance with the true spirit of the original. Nevertheless these are very valuable to all students inasmuch as these represent the Zoroastrian tradition and explain many beliefs held by the orthodox even today. All the important portions of the Avesta have been thus rendered into Pahlavi.

Pahlavi texts of the second type form the biggest portion of Pahlavi literature. West mentions 55 such works. A good many of these make up the so-called *Andarz*-literature, which consists mainly of "admonitions" meant for the guidance of the younger generation. The most famous of these is that by Aturpāt-i-Māraspendān[68] written down by this great Sasanian Dastur for the benefit of his son Zaratūsht. Among the longer works of this section the following nine works may be noted specially. The dates of these writings are hard to determine, but we might confidently assert that the last six were written about the 9th century of the Christian era. It is to be noted that the language becomes more involved and obscure in course of time, so that we may roughly put down the simpler works as the earlier ones.

66. This can be gathered from the colophons of the various manuscripts now existing.

67. It used to be regarded as "a work of merit" (*sawāb*) to have a sacred text copied in memory of a deceased person.

68. He was the Head Dastur under Shāpūr II. (the Great, 309-379 A. D.). The Khordeh-Avesta was compiled under his direction, and he himself composed several of the Pāzand pieces included therein.

1. The earliest of this group in point of age, and indeed one of the earliest works in the whole of Pahlavi literature, is the *Artā Vīrāf Nāmak* (the Story of Artā Vīrāf). This work was certainly written long before the Arab conquest. Artā Vīrāf was a famous priest of the early Sasanian period. He is said to have helped in the re-establishment of Zoroastrianism in Iran, and his share in editing the Avesta Texts was not inconsiderable. This work relates to his trance ; he visited both heaven and hell, and then described all the wonders he had seen there. There is a certain amount of resemblance to Dante's famous work in Italian. The language is simple and straightforward.[69]

2. The *Dīnā-i Maīnōg-i Khirat* (opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom) consists of replies by the Spirit of Wisdom representing the religion of Zarathushtra to a group of inquirers. It had been known for a long time in its Pāzand and Sanskrit versions, both made by Nairyōsang Dhaval, the great Dastur who flourished about 1200 A. D. The original Pahlavi was discovered in a manuscript brought from Iran. The whole work has a decided mystical trend.

3. *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* (Proper and Improper), as the name implies deals with pure and impure, particularly with reference to ceremonial. From this work we can get a fairly clear idea of what "purity" (especially in the ritual sense) meant in Sasanian Iran.

The next six works all belong to the 9th century after Christ ; and the very existence of these works is sufficient to prove that Zoroastrians were allowed certain amount of freedom of religious belief, at any rate till about the middle of that century. One common point about all these works is the growing difficulty and obscurity of the language and also the growing "orthodoxy" evident from their contents.

4. The *Dēnkart* (Acts of Religion) is the most important and the most voluminous of the Pahlavi works.[70] Of its original nine books the first two are missing. The work "is a large collection of information regarding the doctrines, customs, traditions, history and literature of the Mazda-worshipping religion." It is expressly stated in the work itself that its compilation was undertaken by

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69. The *Artā Vīrāf Nāmak* is one of the first texts put in the hands of a beginner of Pahlavi.

70. West, op. cit., p. 91. A detailed synopsis of the contents has been given by West (pp. 91-98).

Ātūr-farnbag, son of Farukhzāt, a high priest of the Zoroastrians at the wish of Khalīfa al-Ma'mūn (813-833 A.D.), and that the work was completed by Atūrpāt, son of Hēmēt. The date of the latter can be determined as about the latter half of the 9th century of Christ. In the course of the work we get summaries of the various Nasks which are now completely lost. This shows undisputedly that the author had all the texts before him when he wrote this work. There are even a large number of original Avesta quotations given which cannot be traced in any of the existing texts. The full text of this great work together with Gujarati and English translations has been published in nineteen volumes at Bombay by Dastur Peshtan and his son Dastur Dārāb Sanjānā. The first volume appeared in 1874 and the last in 1928, a short time before the death of Dastur Dārāb.

5. Second in importance to the *Dēnkart* is the *Būndahishn* (Creation), and it belongs to the same group of Pahlavi works. There are two redactions of it, the Indian and Iranian. The former was the first to be published but it is very defective as compared with the latter. The work is in 46 chapters dealing with the details of Creation of all that exists, and its purpose. It also describes "how the arch-fiends came spiritually in opposition to the angels of the spiritual existences, through opposing every good quality by a corresponding evil one."[71] The whole work deals with these various conflicts and with the nature of the various beings good and bad. There are also eschatological discussions, descriptions of the various "calamities" that overwhelmed Iran at various periods of its history, and prophecies regarding the three future renovators of Iranian glory. The Arabs are expressly mentioned and their various customs are also described.[72]

6. *Shikand-gūmānīg Vijār* (Doubt-dispelling Explanations) is a unique work dealing with the different religious beliefs prevalent in Iran during the ninth century of Christ. The date of the author Martān-Farukh, son of Aūharmazd-dāt, can be approximately fixed, because he mentions the author of the Dēnkart who commenced that work but not that of the man who finished it. He deals with Jews, Christians, Manichaeams and Moslems, pointing out, the inconsistencies he has discovered in their beliefs. He also has

71. West, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

72. West gives a detailed account of this work also (op. cit., pp. 98-102).

73. See the edition of Dastur Hoshangji and E. W. West (Bombay, 1887), Introduction, pp. ix-xix.

something to say about atheists and heretics. The references to Islam are naturally guarded, but there are undoubted quotations from the Qor'ān. The authour also states that he had travelled in the land of the Hindus.[73] The text exists in the Pāzand and Sanskrit of Nairyosang. A fragmentary Pahlavi rendering of a few chapters does exist, but it is rather corrupt and evidently a re-translation from the Pāzand into Pahlavi at a very much later date.[74] The original Pahlavi seems to have been irretrievably lost.

7. The *Dātistān-i Dīnīk* (Religious Opinions) and its accompanying *Pahlavi Rivāyat* seen to enshrine the opinions of Mānūshchīhr, son of Yūdān-Yim, high priest of Pars and Kirmān, who was the leader of religion towards the latter part of the ninth century of Christ. This work is a reply to 92 queries on religious subjects addressed to the writer by his various friends. This work is regarded as authoritative on all matters of religious observance by the orthodox even now. The text is admittedly one of the most difficult in Pahlavi, and as it deals with a great variety of subjects its vocabulary is particularly rich.

8. The same Dastur wrote the *Epistles of Mānūshchīhr.* They are three in number, and "they were written in consequence of complaints made by the people of Sīrkān, a town about thirty parsangs south of Kirmān, concerning certain new precepts about purification which had been recently issued by their high-priest Zāt-Sparam, who was a younger brother of Mānūshchīhr".[75] The special importance of these Epistles is that they are dated, and as such they are invaluable in fixing the dates of many other Pahlavi works. They were written in 881 A. D. when the writer seems to have been already fairly advanced in age. Zāt-Sparam seems to have been a much younger man and the elder brother actually threatens to visit him personally in spite of his age.

9. The *Selections of Zāt-Sparam* contain three parts dealing with the meeting of the good and the bad spirits; with the formation of man out of body, life and soul; and the renovation of the universe. "The writings of Mānūshchīhr and his brother Zāt-Sparam are undoubtedly the most difficult Pahlavi texts in existence, both to

74. Such instances are by no means rare, where the only Pahlavi text available is not the original Sasanian Pahlavi, but a re-translation (generally done in India) from a later Pāzand version. The linguistic peculiarities are quite clearly notable.

75. West, op. cit., p. 104.

understand and to translate ; no other texts equal them in intricacy and obscurity".[76]

The third division of Pahlavi works consist of non-religious works. The most important of these is the extensive *Mātīgān-i Hazār Dātistān* which is the social code of the days of the Sasanians. It is admittedly a difficult text.[77] The work can be dated about the end of the Sasanian rule for it mentions King Khūsrō-i Kavātān (Noshīrwān) among others. There are also two historical texts, the *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān* (History of the Deeds of Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān) dealing with the foundation of the Sasanian Empire, and the *Aiyādgār-i Zarīrān* (Momoirs of Zarīr) dealing with the adventures of Zarīr, the son of Gushtāsp, the patron of Zarathushtra. Then there is a delightful little tale about *Khūsrō-i-Kavātān and his Page* which gives detail of the education and manners of the youths of noble birth in the last days of the Sasanians. There is also a treatise on the game of chess which had come to Iran from India in the days of Noshīrwān.[78] Finally there are two valuable treatises on geography. One describes the various cities of Iran and gives some very valuable information and the other sets forth the wonders of the land of Sagistan.

The direct successor of Pahlavi is Modern Persian. Indeed Persian in the early days might be called Pahlavi written in the Arabic script. The influence of Persian on the languages of the neighbouring countries, and indeed, over the whole world of Islam, has been profound. For many centuries Persian had been the language of diplomacy all over Asia, and occupied in that respect the same position as French did in Europe. It would be outside the scope of this paper to deal with Persian language and literature because both are clearly post-Islamic. But reference may be made in passing to the share of Persian in the moulding of our own Urdu.

Of the other dialects mentioned in the table, most of them have remained mere dialects. Of the Eastern group Afghan has had some literature, and in modern times a fresh impetus has

76. Ibid., p. 103.

77. An English translation with critical annotations has been published by S. J. Bulsara in 1937 at Bombay. Prof. Bartholomae has also published five critical papers on this text under the title *Zum sasanidischen Recht* (Heidelberg, 1918-1923).

78. The Pahlavi name for chess is *Chatrang*, which is a mere transcription of the Sanskrit *caturanga*.

been given to the language. Balōchī however does not seem to have produced anything remarkable in recent times, and its past literature is chiefly made up of ballads and semi-historical tales. Modern Ossetic is remarkable because, though clearly an Eastern language, its home at the present time is far to the west in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus.

Of the Western languages Gabrī (or Darī) is to be noted, as being the dialect of the Iranian Zoroastrians. It possesses a special "technical" vocabulary relating to religious ideas and practices. It possesses some literature, the most notable work being the Quatrains of the mystic poet Bābā Tāhēr. Ormūrī has also, like Ossetic, travelled far from the dialects of its own group. For at the present time it is spoken in the heart of Afghanistan. Kurdish has been showing signs of revival during the last two decades. It is a happy sign that Kurds themselves are taking up the scientific study of their own language and a rapidly growing new literature has been the result.

THE PROBLEM OF SQUARING THE CIRCLE AND IRANIAN CONTRIBUTION TO IT

By

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1. The Problem.

It has been a common saying that it is impossible to fit a square thing into a round hole, and the impossibility is obvious to every casual observer. But a problem akin to this engaged the attention of Mathematicians from the very earliest times. It goes by the name of squaring the circle. By squaring is not meant the Arithmetical square, *i.e.* the product of the circle by itself. The problem aims at the quadrature of the circle, and at finding a square whose area is the same as that of the given circle, with the help of ruler and compass only.

2. Earliest attempts at solution.

The earliest attempts were all empirical, and they naturally resulted in rude approximations, which in some cases greatly differed from the actual values. In some cases attempts were made to find a straight line equal in length to the circumference of the circle, and then to describe a square with the same length as perimeter so that each side would be a quarter of it. The idea underlying this process was perhaps that equal areas would be contained by the same length whether it was placed in the form of a circle or a square. So the problem then hinged on the rectification of the circle. This length could be obtained by rolling the circle along a straight line. Generally a circular cylinder with a marked surface was used for the purpose. The areas of the circle and of the square thus formed were taken to be equal. But with the subsequent development of Mathematical theories it is easily seen that these two areas are far from being equal.

For taking a circle of radius r, the present day formula for rectification gives the length of the circumference of the circle as $2\pi r$, and the area of the circle as πr^2, where π denotes the ratio of the circumference to the diameter. Hence taking a square each of whose sides equals $\frac{1}{2}\pi r$, we get the area of the square $=\frac{1}{4}\pi^2 r^2$. But the area of the circle is πr^2. Hence if these areas are the same, we must have

$$\pi r^2 = \tfrac{1}{4}\pi^2 r^2 = \tfrac{1}{4}\pi .\ \pi r^2$$

i.e. the area of the square is $\frac{1}{4}\pi$ times the area of the circle, and as these two areas are equal we have $\pi = 4$. Thus in those days the circumference of the circle was considered to be 4 times that of of the diameter.

But taking the true value of π as 3·1416, it is easily seen that the area of the square with sides equal to $\frac{1}{2}\pi r$ is equal to ·7854 times the area of the circle of radius r, *i.e.*, a little greater than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the area of the circle. Similarly the area of the circle is $\frac{4}{\pi}$ times the area of the square, *i.e.*, the area of the circle is 1·273239 times the area of the square described on a side of length $\frac{1}{2}\pi r$, that is, it is in excess by over a quarter of the square. Of course a closer approximation to the area would have been obtained by taking the square on a side of length 1·128 of $\frac{1}{2}\pi r$, *i. e.*, on a side of length ·282 of the circumference of the circle. But not to speak of decimals, even fraction was a thing unknown to the people at that age. They were perfectly satisfied with their rude approximations, and did not care, nor could they arrive at Mathematical or numerical precision. Such attempts were all made before the scientific period of Greek civilisation.

The ancient mathematicians had no knowledge of the symbol π, nor did they take π equal to anything. What they actually did was that they took the circumference of the circle equal to some multiple of the diameter. This ratio of the circumference of the circle to its diameter plays an important part in finding its area, and differed with different peoples. We denote this ratio by the symbol π, though unknown in ancient times.

The ancient Babylonians took $\pi = 3$. If we go back to the period of the *Old Testament*, we find the value of $\pi = 3$. Thus in 1 *Kings*, VII, 23, * we have *Solomon's* molten sea :

"And he made a molten sea, ten cubits from one brim to the other : it was round all about,......and a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about."

In Talmud and Mishna this ratio is always 3, the reason being traditional, based on Solomon's molten sea. In early Chinese works†, *e. g.* in *Chou-pei* this value is taken to be 3.

Accepted literally this seems to deny implicitly the existence of Mathematics. The Babylonian mensuration of the circle throws into sharp relief the distinction between what is Mathematics and what merely resembles Mathematics.

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*See also 2 *Chronicles*, IV, 2.

†See Mikami—*China*, pp. 8-46, 135.

In early Hindu texts also we find that they based their calculations of the circumference of the circle on the assumption that it was three times the diameter. So in *Matsya Purana* the circumferences of the Sun and the Moon are taken to be thrice their respective diameters expressed in Yojanas.

In *Aditya Purana* the breadths of the Dwipas (*i. e.* the islands) and of their surrounding seas are given, and then the circumference is given as thrice the diameter.

In *Vayu Purana* the ratio is taken to be 3. Thus for all practical purposes 3 was taken as the value of π.

In Colebrooke's *Brahmagupta*, p. 308, we have

"The diameter and the square of the semi-diameter, being severally multiplied by three, are the practical circumference and the area."

3. **Attempts in Egypt.**

The first definite trace of the approximate value of π may be said to be found in *Ahmes Papyrus*. This Papyrus* is included in the Rhind collection of the British Museum and was deciphered by Eisenlohr in 1877 A. D., and found to be a mathematical manual containing problems in Arithmetic and Geometry. It was written by Ahmes sometimes before 1700 B. C. and was founded on an older work by Birch to date as far back as 3400 B.C.§

Professor Peet† gives the probable date of Ahmes Papyrus as between 1788 and 1580 B. C.

This curious Papyrus—the most ancient book known to us puts us in contact with mathematical thought in Egypt of 3 or 5 millennium ago. It is entitled—"Directions for obtaining knowledge of all dark things". We find from it that the Egyptians cared very little for theoretical results. It contains no theorems, and "hardly any general rules of procedure, but chiefly mere statement

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* Papyrus is a tall rush like plant of the family *Cyperaceae* growing in the delta and banks of the Nile and in West Asia. Its stems were used by ancient Egyptians as the predecessor of paper to write on. Hence it came to denote a manuscript written on papyrus. The oldest extant Egyptian papyrus dates as far back as 2500 B.C. The term paper is derived from papyrus. Paper is nothing but thin fabric of fibres compressed into sheets. It originated in Asia before the Christian era and was introduced in Europe in the 8th century.

§ Carl Anton Bretschneider (1808-1878 A.D.), Professor at the Real Gymnasium at Gotha in Thuringia—*in Die Geometrie und die Geometer vor Euklidas*, 1870, Leipzig, pp 6–8.

†*Rhind Papyrus*—Peet, p. 33.

of results intended possibly to be explained by a teacher to his pupils".*

In this book we have a problem the solution of which depends upon the finding of the area of a circle, which is obtained by deducting from the diameter $\frac{1}{9}$ of its length and squaring the remainder. Thus taking d to be diameter, the area of the circle, expressed in modern symbols would be

$$(d - \tfrac{1}{9}d)^2, \text{ i.e. } (\tfrac{8}{9}d)^2.$$

So if r be the radius, the area of circle becomes

$$(\tfrac{8}{9}\, 2r)^2 = (\tfrac{4}{3})^4\, r^2.$$

Hence comparing with πr^2, we get for the first approximation

$\pi = (\frac{4}{3})^4 = \frac{256}{81} = 3{\cdot}16049$, a very fair approximation of the result obtained empirically.

4. Attempts by the Greeks.

Centuries later the inquisitive mind of the Greeks were not satisfied with mere empirical and experimental results, and they wanted to demonstrate the truth of the results obtained empirically. Anaxagoras (500-428 B. C.)§ while in prison passed his time in attempting to square the circle. This is the first time in the history of Mathematics that we find the mention of the famous problem of the quadrature of the circle, but the results of his investigations are not known. It turns upon the determination of the exact value of π. Approximations to the value of π had been made by the Chinese, the Babylonians, Egyptians, Indians etc. The invention of a method to find its exact value engaged the attention of many minds from the time of Anaxagoras down to our own. The problem soon attracted popular attention. The comic poet Aristophanes (448-385 B.C.) made a reference to it in his play entitled the *Birds* in 414 B.C.†

Such problems had probably been the subject of more discussion and research than any other problems in Mathematics.

Hippocrates of Chios (460-377 B. C.) attempted to solve the

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* James Gow.—*A short history of Greek Mathematics*, p. 16, Cambridge, 1884.

§ Anaxagoras was a Greek philosopher of the Ionic School. He promulgated the atomic theory that all matter was composed of minute particles known as atoms. He also gave an explanation of the physical aspect of the sun, the moon and the universe much akin to our present day theories. He was put in prison for teaching his theories and tried for impiety, but was subsequently saved by his pupil, the great Greek statesman Pericles. Socrates was also his student.

† Aristophanes was a comic dramatist and poet of Athens, and wrote 54 comedies, of which only eleven are extant.

F. Rudic—*Bibliotheca Mathematica*, III, Vol. 8, 1907—8, pp. 13—22.

problem by squaring several curvilinear figures (lunes),* but he committed the fallacy in assuming that every lune can be squared whereas he proved the possibility in the case of lunes of isosceles right-angled triangles only.

Antiphon tried to solve the problem by the method of exhaustion.† He inscribed a polygon (according to some a triangle, or a square) in the circle and calculated its area. Next he doubled the number of sides of the polygon and found its area. In this way he successively doubled the number of sides so that ultimately the difference between the areas of the polygon and the circle was practically negligible. This area was taken as the approximate area of the circle.

The most noteworthy contribution was made in 225 B.C. by Archimedes of Syracuse (287-212 B.C.).§ In his book on the Measurement of the Circle he first proved that the area of a circle is equal to that of a right-angled triangle, having the length of the circumference for its base and the radius for its altitude.¶ In this he assumes the existence of a straight line equal in length to the circumference of a circle—an assumption which was objected to by some ancient critics on the ground that it is not evident that a straight line can equal a curved one. Archimedes, however, tackled the problem in this way. He took an equilateral triangle of which the base is a tangent and the vertex is the centre of the given circle. Evidently six such triangles can be drawn, the bases of which will form a regular hexagon circumscribing the circle. The area of the circle is less than the area of the circumscribing hexagon, and the circumference less than the perimeter. Bisecting the angles at the centre he got a regular polygon of 12 sides circumscribing the circle. By successively bisecting the angles at the centre, he obtained a regular polygon of 96 sides circumscribing the circle, and at each bisection the difference between the areas of the polygon and the circle diminished. Taking the perimeter of the circums-

*Sir T. L. Heath—*History of Greek Mathematics*, I, pp. 183—201.

†F. Rudio—"*Der Bericht des Simplicius uber die Quadraturen des Antiphon und Hippokrates*," Bibl. Math. III (3), 7.

§ He was the most celebrated of ancient Greek mathematicians. He was equally versed in the sciences of astronomy, geometry, hydrostatics, optics and mechanics. He gave a spherical representation of the motion of heavenly bodies. He invented burning glasses with which he set fire to the enemy ships by focussing the rays of the sun upon their sails.

¶Sir T. L Heath—Archimedes, pp. 231—233.

,, —*History of Greek Mathematics*, II pp. 50—56.

5

cribing polygon of 96 sides as approximately equal to the circumference, though always a little greater, and calculating it he concluded that the ratio of circumference to the diameters, *i.e.* π was less than $3\frac{1}{7}$. Then he finds a lower limit by inscribing in the circle regular polygons of 6, 12, 24, 48 and 96 sides, finding for each successive polygon its perimeter which is always less than the circumference. In this way he concluded that $\pi > 3\frac{10}{71}$, so that $3\frac{1}{7} > \pi > 3\frac{10}{71}$. Thus the fractional portion is really less than $\frac{1}{7}$ and greater than $\frac{10}{71}$. The required area of the circle is always less than that of the circumscribed polygon and greater than that of the inscribed one.

At this stage where Archimedes stopped in the third century B.C. an approximation to the area of the circle is obtained from the calculation of a regular polygon of 96 sides. If the number of sides be infinitely increased the difference between the areas vanish, and the area of the limiting polygon is equal to the area of the circle. Hence it is necessary to know the area of a regular polygon of n sides. This is easily done once the area of an isosceles triangle is known. Hence if the limit as the number of sides is infinitely increased exists and can be calculated, the problem is solved. And here is the crucial step in obtaining the exact formula for the area in passing to the limit as the number of sides is infinitely increased. Archimedes, however, found the area from that of a right-angled triangle once the circumference of the circle was approximately obtained by means of polygons. Taking the values of π as $3\frac{1}{7}$, Archimedes obtains the length of the circumference as $3\frac{1}{7}d$, d being the diameter, and thus the area of the circle is $\frac{1}{2}.3\frac{1}{7}d.\ \frac{1}{2}d = \frac{22}{28}d^2$, so that the area of the circle to the square on the diameter is approximately 11 : 14.

Since the time of Archimedes $3\frac{1}{7}$ was taken as a satisfactory approximation of π and was used as such by Heron of Alexandria (50 A. D.), Ptolemy (150 A. D.) and other subsequent mathematicians. Ptolemy expressed the limits in sexagesimals giving

$$3\tfrac{1}{7} = 3\ 8'\ 34.28'' \text{ and } 3\tfrac{10}{71} = 3\ 8'\ 27.04''$$

and took the mean of these two and took 3 8′ 30″ as the approximate value of π, which gives $\pi = 3{\cdot}1416$.*

Circle squarers have existed in crowds ever since the period of Archimedes. After innumerable failures to solve the problem, persons versed in Mathematics dropped the subject, while those

*Heath—*History*, I, p. 233.

who still persisted were completely ignorant of its history, and generally misunderstood the problem, *viz.* to solve it with the help of ruler and compass only.

5. Attempts by the Indians.

In the early Hindu texts we have found that the value of π was taken to be 3. In later times, however, Hindus became aware of the fraction following after three whole numbers. Thus the rule in *Surya Siddhanta* is to multiply the square of the diameter by 10, and the square root of the product will be the circumference. Thus taking c as the circumference, and d as the diameter, the rule gives $c=\sqrt{10\,d^2}$, so that $\pi=\sqrt{10}=3{\cdot}16227\ldots$

In *Surya Prajnapti* (*c.* 500 B.C.) two values of π are given. One is $\pi=3$ due to ancient writers, and the other is $\pi=\sqrt{10}$. This second value was approved by the author and was thenceforth adapted in Jaina literatures, even when Hindus had discovered more accurate values of π. Hindus computed the value of π from the perimeter of regular polygon of 384 sides and found the value of π which in decimals can be put as 3·1416. In sutra 20, the diameter of the innermost orbit of the sun is given as 99640 yojana, and its diameter as 315089 yojana and a little over. There are also given values of successive orbits and diameters, all of which are based on the relation $c=\sqrt{10d^2}$. In a commentary of *Surya Prajnapti* by Saint Bhadrabahu (*c.* 318 B. C.) the same relations of circumference and diameter are found. In the *Tattvārthādhigama-Sutra-Bhāsya* of Umasvati (150 B. C.) along with other mensuration formulae, we find the circumference and area of the circle given as

$$c=\sqrt{10d^2},\quad \text{area}=\tfrac{1}{4}cd.$$

These are also given in his *Jambudwipasamāsa*.* These formulae may have been taken from the earlier Hindu works and the above works. In *Jambudwipa Prajnapti* (*c.* 500 B. C.) Sutra 3, Jambudwipa is taken circular in shape, and its diameter = 100000 yojana, and circumference = 316227 yojana and a little over. In *Jivābhigama Sutra* (*c.* 500 B. C.) sutras 82, 124, the same relation between c and d are given. It is also stated in sutra 112 that for an increment of 100 in the diameter, the circumference increases by 316, which gives $\pi=3{\cdot}16$.

It is interesting to note how $\sqrt{10}$ came to be taken as the approximate value of π. The Hindus obtained two approximations for the square root of any number, one by excess and the other by

*See K. P. Mody's edition, Calcutta, 1903.

defect. Thus if n be the number whose square root is sought, the approximation by excess will be

$$\sqrt{n} = \sqrt{a^2+k} = a + \frac{k}{2a},$$

and the approximation by defect will be

$$\sqrt{n} = \sqrt{a^2+k} = a + \frac{k}{2a+1}.$$

From this we see that

$$\sqrt{10} = \sqrt{3^2+1} = 3 + \frac{1}{2 \cdot 3+1} = 3\frac{1}{7},$$

which explains why $\sqrt{10}$ was so often used for π by early writers. The Jaina Mathematicians have taken this result from early Hindu writers.

Having obtained the circumference in this way, it was easy to get the area from that of a regular polygon. If there are n sides, the area is divided into n isosceles triangles with their vertices at the centre, and the area of each triangle is $\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{c}{n} \cdot r$, so that the area of the circle is $\frac{1}{2}cr = \frac{1}{4}cd$. Thus the area is equal to that of a triangle with circumference as base and the radius as altitude. Archimedes also asserted, and according to some, proved the same proposition in the case of a right-angled triangle with sides c and r forming the right angle. Having got this triangle it is easy to obtain a rectangle and thence a square equal in area to that of the triangle. By placing the n isosceles triangles side by side such that each vertex lies on the extremity of the base of the preceding triangle, a parallelogram can be formed with sides $\frac{1}{2}c$ and r, which in the limit may be taken as the rectangle $\frac{1}{2}c.r$. But the square, rectangle or the triangle gives only the approximate value, and does not represent the actual area.

Aryabhatta (*c.* 510 A.D.) formulated the following rule for finding the value of π.*

"Add 4 to 100, multiply by 8, add 62000, and you have for a diameter of 2 ayutas the approximate value of the circumference."

The word ayuta means 10000. This gives $\pi = 3{\cdot}1416$.

Brahmagupta (628 A. D.) also took the $c = 3\frac{1}{7}d$, but he finds this number by a peculiar method. He says.

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*L. Rodet—'*Lec,ons de Calcul d' Aryabhata*', Journal Asiatique. P. 11.

G. R. Kaye—'*Notes on Indian Mathematics*, No. 2, *Aryabhata*' in Jour. and Proc. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, IV.

"As the root of 10 is $3\frac{1}{7}$, the relation between the diameter and its circumference is like the relation between 1 and 10". Then he multiplies the diameter by itself, the product by 10, and of this product he takes the root. Then the circumference is solid, i. e. consists of integer in the same way as the root of 10. This calculation, however, makes the fraction longer than it really is.

Aryabhata took circumference of the Earth as 3393 yojana while he took diameter as 1080 yojana in one place and 1050 yojana at other places so that π is either $3\frac{17}{120}$ or $3\frac{81}{350}$, *i. e.*, either 3·1416 or 3·2314, for which Brahmagupta criticized him severely.* Brahmagupta took $d = 1581$ and $c = 5000$ yojana giving $\pi = 3.162$.

Paulisa took $d = 1600$ yojana and $c = 5026\frac{14}{15}$ yojana which gives $\pi = 3{\cdot}14183$. Paulisa also took $\pi = 3\frac{177}{1250}$, i. e., 3·1416.

Mahavira (*c.* 850 A.D.) and Sridhara (*c.* 1020 A.D.) gave both 3 and $\sqrt{10}$. Bhaskara (*c.* 1150 A. D) used $\frac{3927}{1250}$ for the near value and $3\frac{1}{7}$ for the gross value.

6. Attempts by the Persians.

In the reign of Caliph Almansur (712-775 A. D.) of Bagdad an embassy consisting of Hindu scholars went to his court at his invitation with astronomical tables etc. which were translated into Arabic. These were known as Sindhind and Alarkand, which are generally believed to be the translation of *Brāhma Sphuta Siddhānta* and *Khanda khadyaka* of Brahmagupta. A Persian named Yaqub Ibn Tariq also went to the court of Caliphs about this time and is said to have assisted in translating the works of Brahmagupta. In his book *'Composito Sphaerarum'* (*c.* 775 A.D.) he takes the circumference of the Zodiac as 1,256, 640,000 yojanas and diameter 400,000,000, yojanas, so that their ratio is

$$3\,\frac{56{,}640{,}000}{400{,}000{,}000}$$

which on simplification becomes $3\frac{177}{1250}$, the value used by Paulisa.

According to Yaqub, the diameter of the Earth is 2100 farsakh and its circumference $6596\frac{9}{25}$ farsakh. 1 farsakh = 16000yds. = $\frac{1}{2}$ yojana. On this basis he computed the distance of planets.

The credit for giving the value of π to a higher degree of accuracy than any of his predecessors may be given to Mahmud Giyât-ed-dîn al-Kashî. He expressed it to 16 places of decimals

*Alberuni's India—I, p. 168, edited by Sachau.

(written in Arabic characters). He was assistant of the Persian Prince astronomer Ulugh Beg (1393-1449 A. D.)* who erected an astronomical observatory at Samarkand which at that time was regarded as one of the wonders of the world, and appointed al-Kashî as its first director. In fact the invention of decimal fraction was in its infancy then, and al-Kashî was perhaps the first mathematician to recognize this type of fraction in the East. In his *al-Risâli al-mohîtîje* (*Treatise on the Circumference*) (c. 1430 A. D.) he gives the value of π as

Sah-hah

3   1415926535898732,

the term Sah-hah meaning complete integer. Thus 3 is the integer and the portion at the right-hand side being the decimal fractions. It is earlier than any similar one to be found in Europe.

Adriaen Anthoniszoon and his son Adriaen Metius (1571-1635 A.D.) took $\pi = \frac{355}{113}$. They took the limiting values of π as $3\frac{15}{106}$ and $3\frac{17}{120}$, *i. e.* $3\frac{15}{106} < \pi < 3\frac{17}{120}$. They added the numerators $15 + 17 = 32$ and the denominators $106 + 120 = 226$ and took their means 16 and 113 and took $\pi = 3\frac{16}{113} = \frac{355}{113} = 3{\cdot}1415929$, a very close approximation.

The contributions of mathematicians in evaluating π are too numerous to be included in this short paper. It has been rightly observed by Prof. E. T. Bell of California that "the long chronicle of π signifies vastly more for the history of mathematics than a rather dreamy record of successive approximation from the crude 3 of the Babylonians of about 2000 B. C. to 707 decimal places of W. Shanks in 1853 A. D.".

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* Ulugh Beg was a grandson of Timur and son of Shāh Rukh and Gawhar Shād. He was a man of letters, artist and scholar and "really made Samarkand, what Timur had dreamt of, the centre of Muslim civilisation". (R. Grousset—*Hist de l' Asie* iii 127). He was a mathematician and astronomer of great repute. Trigonometrical Tables for sine, tangent and cotangent were prepared under his direction. Three or four astronomers worked and collaborated with him in his observatory to prepare these tables.

Giyāted-dīn al-Kashī was the first director of his observatory. Ulugh Beg invented new and powerful instruments for their observation and research. Unfortunately this observatory which was regarded as one of the wonders of the world, is no longer in existence. His son 'Abd al-Laṭif rebelled against and defeated his father Ulugh Beg, and handed him to a Persian servant named 'Abbās, who after a show of trial had Ulugh Beg executed on Oct. 27,1449. With the death of Ulugh Beg, the period of astronomical work and research in Iran practically ended.

REMARKS ON AN OUTLINE OF NEAR EASTERN HISTORY

By

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In teaching courses in general education on the Near East I have been obliged to present in an outline form some of the salient features of the whole course of history in the Near East. With the present interest in the social sciences ever increasing, and the methods of analysis developing at great lengths, it is incumbent upon qualified scholars to examine the history of the Near East in a new light. I make no pretence to be a social scientist, and do not wish to even propose a philosophy of Near Eastern history à la Toynbee or Spengler, but I believe the need for renewed study of Near Eastern history with regard to the new directions and methods of the social scientists is not to be denied. Perforce, any attempt at studying Near Eastern history as a whole will be replete with generalisations. Generalisations are always subject to criticism, most frequently because of the exceptions found in any systematisation. Of the exceptions I am cognisant, but I believe that the following brief suggestions may yet have some value in giving an impetus to further investigation in a promising field.

The geographical background of Near Eastern history is extremely important, for geography has conditioned the course of events in the various parts of the Near East perhaps more than elsewhere in the world. I propose the simplest division of the geography of the area in four parts. First is Egypt which is the Nile—to be understood as a geographic entity sufficient unto itself. The history of Egypt can be studied as a unity with little reference to the rest of the Near East, from earliest times to the present. This is not to say that influences, cultural and otherwise, did not enter or go out from Egypt, but rather Egypt is a *cul-de-sac,* like India and China, which absorbs outside invaders and influences without undergoing great upheavals.

Second, the Fertile Crescent—a term popularised by the Egyptologist Breasted—is the core of the Near East, the goal of

invaders from Arabia, Iran, or Anatolia. Attempts to unite the entire Fertile Crescent under one rule constitute much of the history of the Near East. Here it was that Egyptians fought against the Assyrians, Romans versus the Parthians, Byzantines against Sassanids, Mamelukes versus Mongols, and Safavids versus Ottomans. Even today the Hashemite family would like to unite both arms of the Fertile Crescent under one rule. Apart from the Syrian desert, the only geographical features which have influenced the history of the Fertile Crescent to any great extent, are the mountains of the western arm—the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon, and the mountains of Palestine—differentiating various political units from the time of the Philistines through the Crusaders to the state of Israel.

On three sides of the Fertile Crescent are plateaus, centres of civilisations at times rivals for control of the fertile lowlands. A study of the history of the Arabian, Anatolian, and Iranian plateaus shows much in common, with fertile valleys in the foothills of each plateau providing arenas for the growth of civilisation. The ways of life in each of the three areas, too, have much in common, and are in contrast to the life in the lowlands.

Finally we have the 'refugee' areas of the Caucasus and the Hindu Kush ranges, with the Zagros, Taurus, Lebanon, and Elburz mountains on a lesser scale. The number of languages and tribes found in the first named mountains is legion, and such refugee groups as the Alans (present Ossetes) and Circassians are well known. The same is true of the Hindu Kush and Pamirs chain, where we find refugee groups such as the Kafirs—reputed descendants of Alexander's legions—and the Hazaras of Mongol origin. The Zagros refugee area for the Kurds, Lurs, and Bakhtiyaris fits the same pattern. In the Taurus Mountains there existed kingdoms of Armenians, Turkomans, and others, while the Lebanons have their Maronites and Druzes.

Thus, geographically the Near East can be divided into the four areas mentioned above—including many subdivisions not mentioned—with much of the history thereby elucidated.

What of the salient divisions of Near Eastern history ? These can be readily observed when we realise the significance of religion for the Near Easterner. His attitude towards nature and time is all important ; hence the great divisions of his history are to be sought primarily in great religious or cultural changes. Obviously the most important division in Near Eastern history is the coming of Islam. This is the greatest break with the past ; the history

of the Near East can be divided into pre-Islamic and Islamic. If this is the most important, four star, event in Near Eastern history, what are next in order of importance? The three star events are two in number—the conquest of Alexander the Great and Hellenism, and the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon with the resultant coming of the West. In brief, I propose the following scheme of important divisions in Near Eastern history, beginning with the sixth century B.C.:

**Achaemenid "One World."
***Hellenism (Seleucids, Ptolemies, and Parthians).
*Sassanian-Byzantine rivalry
****Islamic conquest
*Abbasid caliphate
**Turkish invasions and Mongol conquest
*Safavid-Ottoman rivalry
***Westernisation (Napoleon's invasion of Egypt)
Revolutions of 1906-7 in Turkey and Persia as important events in the last division.

The Achaemenid Empire was the summing up of the earlier history of the Near East. Hellenism is comparable to Westernisation in its influence on the Near East. Sassanian-Byzantine rivalry, like the later Safavid-Ottoman, reveals an important cleft in Near Eastern history between the power looking to the sea on the one hand, and the power looking to the steppes of Central Asia on the other. This cleft has many ramifications which I shall not go into here. The Turkish-Mongol invasions are very important, but not the equal of Hellenism and Westernisation. The revolutions of 1906-7 in Turkey and Persia, like the revolution of 1905 in Russia, opened the Near East to liberalism.

Another pattern which can be found in Near Eastern history is the pattern of invasions into the Fertile Crescent. Here too an outline can be made. I divide the invasions into three groups, from the Arabian peninsula, from Central Asia (and the Iranian plateau), and from the Mediterranean Sea.

Invasions from Arabia are characterised by the use of the camel as means of locomotion, and by a strong tribal solidarity giving impetus to the invasion. The desert left its imprint on all of the peoples coming into the Fertile Crescent from Arabia, and the rule they established was always conditioned by their desert background. Perhaps a rhythm of invasion can be established, though I am neither concerned with nor convinced of it at present.

We have the Semites of the third millennium B.C., the Aramaeans of *c.*1300 B.C., the Nabateans and Palmyrenes of the first and second centuries A.D., the Arabs in the seventh and the Wahhabis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, all with much in common. Indeed one can understand one invasion by comparing it with the others.

From Central Asia and the Iranian plateau we find horse borne nomads with a caste solidarity—or at least something different from the tribal solidarity of the Semites. Here steppe and plateau condition the way of life and the kind of rule of these invaders. It may be possible to establish a rhythm of invasion of these peoples too. The forerunners of the Aryans were the Mitanni and Kassites. Then came the Aryans themselves about the turn of the first millennium B.C. Scythian invaders appear in the Near East *c.*700-600 B.C., Parthians 300 B.C., Sakas and Kushans later, Huns in the fourth century A.D., Turks after 1000 A.D., Mongols two centuries later, and finally the Uzbeks in the sixteenth century.

The third group of invaders came from over the sea. One of the early groups were the Philistines who gave their name to Palestine where they settled. After the conquest of Alexander the Great came Greek merchants, soldiers, and colonists. Then the Romans took over Greek rule. The Crusaders introduced a new factor in the Mediaeval history of the Near East, while Napoleon's invasion opened the area to the West. Finally we have the state of Israel in the same tradition.

One may go too far in attempting to correlate the pattern of invasions, but they do lend themselves to speculation on a possible historical law or rhythm.

In conclusion, I should like to mention two parallels useful for students, both regarding the religions of the Near East. Islam is not only a continuation and synthesis of Hellenism and Judaism-Christianity, but one may note correlations, expressible in mathematical formulae, which in a very general way may help in understanding Islam. The first equation I propose is Judaism : Christianity = Sunni Islam : Shi'ite Islam. This is not as flippant as it may seem, and I beg the reader to give it careful reflection, rather than read a lengthy defence of it. The second formula is Quran : Hadith : Sunna = Torah : Mishna : Talmud. Again I request the reader to give it thought rather than attend to my reasons for making the equation.

This brief paper then is merely a preliminary sketch of several ideas which I hope to develop elsewhere in a study of the entire history of the Near East. I hope the reader will think of the history of the Near East along similar lines, for I am sure further work will prove fruitful for an understanding of this area of the world.

BOOK REVIEW

CREATIVE BENGAL—By Kazi Abdul Wadud, Published by Thacker Spink & Co., (1933) Ltd. 3, Esplanade East, Calcutta. Demy Octavo, pp. viii 156. Price Rs. 5/4/-.

The book is a collection of literary essays of the author written originally in Bengali during the second quarter of this century and are here translated into fine and elegent English. The essays deal with variety of items *viz.* Modern Bengali Literature, Ram Mohan Roy, Mussalmans of Bengal, Sarat Chandra, Bankim Chandra, Iqbal, Nazrul Islam, Goethe, Our Nineteenth Century Renaissance and the Allah of the Quran.

Kazi A. Wadud is an original thinker and one of the acknowledged Bengali writers of today. His fresh and catholic observations give out a fragrance of the spirit of Bengali Culture. 'The story of Creative Bengal' in the words of the author, 'is the story of resurgent India and East', and he does not confine himself only to the literary activities of Bengal, but treats Iqbal with admiration and Goethe with devotion, thus working in the accommodating spirit of Ram Mohan Roy, whom the author remembers with genuine veneration frequently in his essays. The author is very well-versed in Hindu and Muslim scriptures and traditions and refers to them quite aptly and authoritatively. His treatment of Iqbal and Nazrul Islam, the two outstanding poets of Modern India, is superb, their gradual development traced and analysed methodically and the criticism of their poetry based on dispassionate study of the originals.

The book deserves to be prescribed as a text-book in literary criticism for some high University examinations. The get-up of the book, to say the least, is excellent.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

OURSELVES

Prof. Md. Saber Khan, M.A. (Triple), B. E. S., Mr. M. A. Majid, B.A. (Hons.) and Mr. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A. were appointed Honorary Sectional Secretaries for Library, Public Lectures and Publicity respectively in order that all round cultural activities of the Society may be more on the increase in keeping with the recent trends of life.

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Mr. Khalil Adlkhah was appointed as the Officiating Treasurer of the Society in place of the present incumbent Mr. D. R. Billimoria with effect from the 1st May, 1952.

* * * *

It was decided to celebrate the Aniversary of Abu Ali Ibn Sina (known as Avicenna) in February 1953. An Avicenna Committee was formed with the following members :—Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, Mr. M. A. Kasani, Mr. Khalil Adlkhah, Mr. P. C. Chunder, Mr. D. H. Mehta & Dr. M. Ishaque.

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Two part-time assistants were appointed to keep the accounts and look after the Library and the Reading Room of the Society respectively. A cataloguer was also appointed to catalogue various books in the Library according to the modern system of classification.

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An Editorial Board for the Nashriyah-i-Iran was formed with the following members :—

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, Dr. M. Ishaque & Mr. M. Tabatabai.

* * * *

It was decided to award a Silver Medal out of the late Prof. M. Mahfuzul Haq Memorial Fund in competition.

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A princely donation of Rs. 2000/- was received by the Society from Dr. B. C. Law towards the cost of printing the All Biruni commemoration Volume running to 300 pages and priced at Rs. 40/- each.

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جای شگفتی نیست. اما گفتگو در باره زبان و آداب و رسوم و داستانها و سرودهای لولیان مجالی دیگر میخواهد که اگر دست دهد تحقیقات خود را با خوانندگان مهربان درمیان خواهیم گذاشت.

منابع (Bibliography)

حمزه اصفهانی تاریخ سنی ملوک الارض چاپ برلین کاویانی - مجمل التواریخ و القصص چاپ خاور بتصحیح ملک الشعراء بهار - مسعودی مروج الذهب چاپ مصر - ابن بلخی فارسنامه چاپ تهران باهتمام سید جلال تهرانی - ثعالبی غرر اخبار ملوک الفرس و سیرهم طبع و ترجمه زوتنبرک - شاهنامه فردوسی چاپ بروخیم ج ۷ (سه بیتی که درمیان این علامت( ) قرار داده شده است از نسخه .C در حاشیه شاهنامه چاپ بروخیم نقل شده بود ما جهت رعایت سیاق حکایت آنرا در متن نهادیم) - یاقوت معجم البلدان چاپ اوروپا - لغت فرس اسدی چاپ تهران باهتمام عباس اقبال - مجمع الفرس سروری نسخه خطی مجلس شماره ۴۸۰ - فرهنگ جهانگیری نسخه خطی مجلس نمره ۴۶۹ - فرهنگ رشیدی نسخه خطی مجلس نمره ۴۷۱ - انجمن‌آرای ناصری چاپ تهران - تاریخ بیهقی چاپ تهران ادیب پیشاوری.

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یادداشتهای ادیب الممالک - مجله ارمغان سال شانزده شماره نهم

بعضی طوایف و عناصر لر را درمیان آنها تائید کرده اند. درست است که لران سفید پوست فارسی زبان را با لوریان سیه چرده مجهول زبان نمیتوان اشتباه کرد لیکن شباهتی که در طرز معیشت و زندگی بین آنها هست کار داوری را در باره آنها دشوار میکند. طایفه زط که حمزه اصفهانی نام آنها را تقریبا بجای لوریان بکار میبرد چنانکه از تاریخ ها بر میآید در قرون اول اسلام و مقارن حکومت حجاج در اهواز و خوزستان سکونت داشته اند. بدشواری میتوان این احتمال را پذیرفت که این زطها همان لرهای ساکن خوزستان و لرستان امروز بوده اند اما نکته‌ای که در این مورد جالب توجه می‌تواند بود این است که یاقوت در خوزستان ناحیه را بنام رور ذکر میکند که با نام لور بی‌تناسب بنظر نمیرسد. آیا زطها یا لورها که در خوزستان بوده اند از اینجا برخاسته اند؟ درست روشن نیست شهری نیز در سند بهمین نام (رور) یا (الرور) وجود داشته است که مسلمانان در سال ۹۵ هجری بوسیله محمد ابن قاسم آن را گشوده اند این شهر که درسی فرسنگی جنوب غربی مولتان و در بیست فرسنگی شمال المنصور جای داشته است و روزگاری جایگاه راجه‌های سند بشمار میرفته است اکنون ویران شده است. آیا شباهت نام این شهر با رور خوزستان و ارتباط نام زطها با لوریان که طبق سنن و تواریخ از سند بایران آمده اند نمیتواند ریشه و اصل کلمه لوری را بدست دهد؟ در واقع تحریف و تبدیل روری و الروری به لوری و لولی با قواعد و موازین لغوی و صرفی عربی و فارسی درست بنظر میآید و بنابر این می‌توان این احتمال را پذیرفت که اعقاب آن عده از رامشگران هندو که در روزگار بهرام گور بایران آمده اند نام خود را از نام اولین شهر سند که بایران نزدیک‌تر بوده است گرفته باشند.

بهرحال این گروه خانه بدوش بی‌سامان قانون گریزی که همه جا نسبت بحدود و قیود تمدن و فرهنگ سرکش بی‌اعتنا بوده اند اگر در نام و تاریخ و اصل و نژاد خویش نیز از دسترس فرهنگ و اطلاع بشری دور مانده باشند

آنها در بسیاری از نقاط صورتهائی از یک زبان ساختگی و قرار دادی باشد و این احتمال بنظر نابعید است. در هر حال از این نظر که ایران اولین سرزمین است که لولیان پس از خروج از هند در آن مسکن گرفته اند مطالعه در لهجه‌های لولیان از لحاظ فقته اللغه فارسی بسیار سودمند خواهد بود.

در باره ریشه کلمه لوری تاکنون بدرستی تحقیق نکرده اند. در فرهنگ جهانگیری آمده است که: (لول با اول مضموم و واو مجهول بیشرم و بیحیا را گویند و آنرا لور نیز خوانند لوری و لولی منسوب بآن است. مولوی معنوی فرماید:

گر همی‌خوانیم لول و گر همی‌گوئیم گول
چون کلنده بر لب دولیم و تک تک میکنیم)

در مجمع الفرس سروری گفته شده است که (لوری بضم لام و کسر رای سهمله خوره باشد که بتازی جذام گویند و نیز نام طایفه باشد که ایشان را کاولی نیز گویند ...... لولی در موید بمعنی سرود گوی در کوچه و نیز بمعنی نازک و لطیف و ظریف نیز آمده است .....) و اما در فرهنگ رشیدی پس از نقل معانی کلمه لور مینویسد: (...... و تحقیق آنستکه لول و لور بمعنی بیحیا است و لوری و لولی منسوب است بآن زیرا که بیحیائی لازمه لولیان است) اما از این معانی وجه تسمیه و نحوه اشتقاق لولی استنباط نمیشود. لوره و لو در فرهنگها بمعنی گذرگاه سیل نیز آمده است. در فرهنگ اسدی است: (لوره گذر سیل بود که زمین را گو کرده باشد و گل در او مانده. عنصری گوید:

دلش نگیرد از این دشت و کوه و دره و رود
سرش نگردد از این آبکندو لوره و خر)

و این معنی اگر با نام طایفه لر مناسب باشد بعید است که با نام لوریان ارتباط داشته باشد اما کسانیکه در باره لوریان ایران تحقیق کرده اند وجود

که غالبا از جایگاه یا پیشه و شیوه زندگی آنها حکایت میکند. سایکس که تقریبا پنجاه سال پیش در باره آنها اطلاعاتی جمع آورده است میگوید: (تنها در آذربایجان پنجهزار خانواده از اینطایفه زندگی می کنند و رویهمرفته در ایران نزدیک بیست هزار خانواده یا بعبارت دیگر یکصد هزار تن لولی سکونت دارند)[1] تحقیقات جدیدتر نشان میدهد که این ارقام تا اندازه زیادی در این اواخر نقصان یافته است.

نوع زندگی آنها که فالگیری آهنگری آوازه‌خوانی رقاصی طلسم‌سازی جادوگری گاو بازی و غربال‌بندی است در نقاط مختلف باقتضای محیط و اقلیم تفاوت میکند اما در هیچ جا محبت و علاقه مردم را بآنها جلب نکرده است. حتی با آنکه در زندگی روستائیان بوسیله آهنگری و غربال‌بندی تاثیر مفیدی مخصوصا در بعضی نقاط خراسان داشته اند و نیز با آنکه در آذربایجان و کردستان آوازه‌خوانی و رقاصی و مسخرگی آنها مایه تفریح و سرگرمی بسیاری از مردم را فراهم میدارد همواره مردم آنها را همه جا بمنزله بیگانه تلقی میکنند و نسبت بآنها چندان خوش بینی و مهربانی و همدردی از جانب مردم ابراز نمیشود.

زندگی آنها در غالب نقاط ایران یکنوع تمدن شبانی را که بتمدن صنعتی نزدیک است نشان میدهد و از بسیاری جهات نیز طرز معیشت و آداب و رسوم آنها با زندگی ایلات شباهت دارد آنها درمیان خود نظم و نسق خاصی با پاره آداب و قوانین مخصوص دارند که غالبا بوسیله کلانتر و (شاطر باشی) آنها معمول و مجری میگردد.

زبان آنها نیز با آنکه در هر ناحیه تحت تاثیر لغات خاص محلی قرار گرفته است از عناصر مجهول و بیگانه مشترکی مشحون است که بنظر میآید یادگارهائی از زبانها و لهجه‌های قدیمی هندی باشد. احتمال داده اند که لهجه‌های

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(۱) *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*

این طایفه که آنها را بمثابه باز ماندگان نسل جادوگران قدیم معرفی میکنند در اروپا از دیر باز خشم و نفرت مردم را نسبت بآنان برانگیخته است این مردمیکه خشم وکینه تمدن را مثل یک لعنت ابدی همه جا با خود همراه دارند از دیر باز جادوگری و افسونکاری و فالگیری مارفسائی و نیزه سازی و اسلحه گری را چون پیشه اجدادی می‌ورزیده اند . با چنین وضعی عجیب نیست که هنوز مثل خویشان و شاید نیاگان دیرین خود (نجس)های هند چیزی از سرنوشت (سامری جادوگر) و (یهودی سرگردان)[۱] را با خویش داشته باشند .

زندگی آنها در ایران هم که گویا وطن دوم آنها بوده است از اروپا بهتر نیست در ایران نیز همه جا با نفرت و بیم و تحقیر و انزجار مردم روبرو هستند . آنها را در فارس کولی در آذربایجان قراچی در عراق غربتی یا غربت در خراسان قرشمال و در تهران غربیل‌بند مینامند . کلمه کولی را فرهنگ‌نویسان تحریفی از کابلی دانسته اند . قراچی نیز گویا همان لغت بسیار معروف غرچه است که در زبان فارسی بمعنی ابله و پست و نابکار و بیشرم بکار رفته است . گفته اند :

بغریبد دلت بهر سخنی روستائی و غرچه را مانی[۲]

و ابو الطیب مصعبی گوید :

صد و بیست ساله یکی مرد غرچه
چرا شصت و سه زیست آن مرد تازی[۳]

واژه قرشمال را نیز تحریف گونه‌ای از غیر شمار یعنی (بی‌شمار) یا (در شمار بیگانه) دانسته اند نام (غربیل‌بند) یا (غربال‌بند) نیز از جهت حرفه و پیشه‌ایست که غالبا می‌ورزند و چنانکه بعضی از آنها نیز که حرفه زرگری دارند به زرگر کرمانی نام‌بردار شده اند . در جاهای دیگر نامهائی مانند چنگیانه گیلانی سرزمانی لولی جوکی کابلی حرامی و زنگاری نیز بر آنها اطلاق میکنند.

(۱) Juiferrant (۲) لغت اسدی (۳) تاریخ بیهقی

مطالعات زبان شناسی نیز این نکته را تائید میکند. لهجه‌های مختلف این طوایف هم از جهت لغات و هم از حیث ساختمان در سراسر اوروپا با لهجه های طبقات پست هندو شباهت دارد. گذشته از آن نام (رم)[۱] که این طایفه در اوروپا بخود میدهند بنظر نمیآید که با کلمه (روم)[۲] - امپراطوری معروف - مناسبت داشته باشد. ازین رو عقیده میکلوزیش[۳] که نام آنها را با کلمه (دوما)[۴] و (دمبا)[۵] که نام طایفه پست از مردم هند علیا باشند تطبیق کرده است بسا که مطابق واقع باشد. بعضی از نامهای دیگر نیز که در اوروپا بر این طایفه اطلاق میشود از ارتباط آنها با سرزمین هندوستان حکایت میکند. در باره کلمه Tzigane که در بیشتر نقاط اوروپا برای طایفه اطلاق میشود گفتگو بسیار کرده اند اگر مفهوم آن چنانکه بعضی از لغت شناسان پنداشته اند بمعنی (نبسودنی ها)[۶] باشد بر رغم سایر احتمالات و بحکم قرائن دیگر میتوان آنها را با (نجس)های هند مربوط کرد کلمه Sinti نیز که در پیه‌مون ولیتوانی بر آنها اطلاق میشود نام سند را که در قصص ایرانی با سرگذشت لولیان مربوط میشود بخاطر میآورد. و در هر حال بسیاری از قرائن و امارات ارتباط و انتساب این طایفه را که در سراسر جهان قدیم بنام‌های مختلف پراکنده بوده اند با سرزمین هند مشخص و معلوم میکند.

ظهور لولیان در اوروپا از قرن چهاردهم میلادی فراتر نمی‌رود. مقارن قرن پانزدهم بود که آنها اوروپای غربی را عرصه استیلای خویش کردند. بسیاری در آنزمان گمان میبردند که آنها از اهل Bohime میباشند از این رو آنها را بوهمی[۷] خواندند و این نام در زبان فرانسه هنوز بر آنها مانده است. بعضی نیز آنها را مصری شمردند و نام gypsies که در زبان انگلیسی بآنها داده شده است از اینجاست. زندگی مرموز و آلوده و آمیخته با دزدی و نابکاری

(۱) Rom
(۲) Rome
(۳) Miklosich
(۴) Doma
(۵) Domba
(۶) Touch-me-nots
(۷) Bohemians

اخبار آنان آگهی یابد و به شبرمه یکی از پادشاهان هند پیوست و در خدمت او بجنگ پرداخت و او را در برابر دشمنی یاری داد. تا ملک هند او را یکی از اساوره فارس شمرد و دختر خویش بزنی بدو داد[۱] و این بلخی میگوید:

.... و لنگرها جمع آمدند و روی ببلاد هند نهادند و ملک هند معروفان را درمیان داشت و صلح کردند و دختر را بزنی ببهرام داد و دیبل و مکران ببهرام داد[۲].

آیا داستان مسافرت یا لشکرکشی بهرام گور بهند چنانکه در روایات ایرانی آمده است صحت دارد؟ اسناد موثقی درین باره در دست نیست اما قرائن و امارات نشان میدهد که در آن زمان بین ایران و هند روابطی سیاسی وجود داشته است و حتی شاید بعضی از پادشاهان هند در ازای جلوگیری از هیاطله (هپتالیان) که برای آن کشور نیز خطرناک بوده اند ایالت سند و مکران را ببهرام واگذار کرده باشند. مسئله مهاجرت لولیان نیز باید یک مسئله سیاسی مربوط بروابط ایران و هند و یا مربوط به سختی زندگی لولیان در هند باشد. آنچه در باره مکاتبه بهرام با شنگل و درخواست فرستادن خنیاگران هند نوشته اند افسانه بیش نیست.

بدینگونه چنانکه از تاریخها و داستانها بر می‌آید لولیان ایران از سرزمین هند بدینجا آمده اند. اتفاقا در باره لولیان اوروپا نیز با همه اختلافی که در باره نژاد و تبار آنها هست محققان این نکته را پذیرفته اند که سرزمین اصلی آنها هند بوده است. تحقیقات و پژوهشهای نژاد شناسی نیز که دکتر کوپرنیکی[۳] در یکی از بیمارستانهای بخارست[۴] انجام داده است نشان میدهد که جمجمه لولیان اوروپای شرقی با جمجمه هندوان طبقات پست شباهت بسیار دارد.

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(۱) مروج ص ۱۶۲ ج ۱.

(۲) فارسنامه ص ٦٦.

(۳) Dr. Kopernicki

(۴) Bucharest

تهیدست بی‌رود و گل میخورند توانگر همان جان و دل پرورند
بخندید از آن نامه بسیار شاه هیونی برافکند پویان براه
بنزدیک شنگل فرستاد کس چنین گفت کای شاه فریادرس
از آن لوریان برگزین دو هزار نر و ماده بر زخم بر بط سوار
فرستی بر من مگر کام من برآید از آن نامدار انجمن
چو نامه بنزدیک شنگل رسید سر از فخر بر چرخ کیوان کشید
هم آنگاه شنگل گزین کرد زود ز لوری کجا شاه فرموده بود
چو لوری بیامد بنزدیک شاه بفرمود تا بر گشادند راه
بهر یک یکی گاو داد و خری ز لوری همی ساخت بر زیگری
همان نیز خروار گندم هزار بدیشان سپرد آنکه بد پایکار
بدان تا بورزد بگاو و بخر ز گندم کند تخم و آرد به بر
کند پیش درویش رامشگری ورا رایگانی کند کهتری
بشد لوری و گاو و گندم بخورد بیامد سر ساله رخساره زرد
بدو گفت شاه این نه کار تو بود پراکندن تخم و کشت و درود
خری ماند اکنون بنه بر نهید بسازید رود و بریشم دهید
کنون لوری از پاک گفتار اوی همی گردد اندر جهان چاره‌جوی
سگ و گرگ همسایه و هامراه بدزدی شب و روز پویان براه[1]

حمزه اصفهانی نیز که همین داستان را با اندک تفاوتی نقل میکند می گوید که جماعت زط از نژاد این هندوان باز مانده اند[2] کسانی که این داستان را در باره نژاد و تبار لوریان آورده اند بیشتر شان پیش از ایندداستان از مسافرت بهرام گور به هندوستان نیز سخن رانده اند. فردوسی در این باره حکایتهائی زیبا با آب و رنگ حماسی نقل کرده است که آوردن آن در اینجا ضرورت ندارد.
مسعودی می‌نویسد: .... و او پیش از این[3] ناشناخته بهند رفت تا از

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(۱) شاهنامه ص ۶۰ — ۲۲۵۸.
(۲) سنی ملوک ص ۳۸.
(۳) یعنی پیش از جنگ با خاقان.

و شراب همی‌خورند . آنان را از آنروی که خویشتن را از لذت سماع محروم داشته اند بنکوهید . گفتند ای ملک امروز رامشگری به صد درهم طلب کردیم و نیافتیم بهرام گفت در کار شما خواهم نگریست . پس بفرمود تا بشنگلت پادشاه هند نامه نویسند تا چهار هزار تن از خنیاگران آزموده و رامشگران کار دیده بدربار وی گسیل دارد شنگلت بفرستاد و بهرام آنان را در سراسر کشور خویش به پراکند و فرمان داد تا مردم آنان را بکار گیرند و از آنان بهره برند و مزدی شایسته بدانها بپردازند و این لوریان سیاه که اکنون بنواختن عود و مزمار مشهورند از بازماندگان آنانند[۱]،، همین داستان در (مجمل التواریخ) بدینگونه است که بهرام ''...... کس را هیچ رنج و ستوه نیافت جزآنک مردمان بی‌رامشگر شراب خوردندی پس بفرمود تا بملک هندوان نامه نوشتند و از وی کوسان خواست و کوسان بزبان پهلوی خنیاگر بود پس از هندوان دوازده هزار مطرب بیامدند زن و مرد لوریان که هنوز بجایند از نژاد ایشانند و ایشان را ساز و چهار پا داد تا رایگان پیش اندک مردم رامشی کنند[۲]،، اما فردوسی چنانکه اقتضای شیوه شاعران است در نقل داستان تا اندازه‌ای بتفصیل گرائیده است و آن را با شاخ و برگهائی آراسته است . می گوید :

وزان پس بهر موبدی نامه کرد　　کسی را که درویش بود جامه کرد
بپرسید شان گفت بیرنج کیست؟　　بهر جای درویش و بی‌گنج کیست؟
ز کار جهان یکسر آگه کنید　　دلم را سوی روشنی ره کنید
بیامدش پاسخ ز هر موبدی　　ز هر نامداری و هر بخردی
که آباد بینیم روی زمین　　بهر جای پیوسته گشت آفرین
مگر مرد درویش کز شهریار　　بنالد همی وز بد روزگار
که چون می گسارد توانگر همی　　بسر بر ز گل دارد افسر همی
بر آواز رامشگران می‌خورد　　چو ما مردمان را بکس نشمرد

(۱) ص ۵٦۷ — ۵٦٦　　(۲) ص ٦۹

بند شوشتر چند هزار از این طایفه را از کابل احضار کرده بخوزستان و شوشتر آورد روز مردان ایشان عملگی کردندی و شب زنان ایشان بکار آب و برقاصی و هم‌بستری مردم بسر بردندی[1].

در ادبیات ما از چنگ و نای لوریان بسیار یاد کرده اند. منوچهری گفته است:

این زند بر چنگهای سغدیان پالیزبان وان زند بر نایهای لوریان آزادوار

نیز از دزدی و راهزنی و طراری آنها سخن گفته اند. جمال الدین عبد الرزاق اصفهانی گوید:

روسی روز آب کارت برد و تو درکار آب
لوری شب رخت عمرت برد و تو در پنج و چار

باز از بیشرمی و شوخ طبعی آنان یاد کرده اند. حافظ راست:

صبا زان لولی شنگول سرمست چه‌داری آگهی چون است حالش

و هم از پریشانی زندگی و بی‌سامانی و آشفتگی خانه و بنگاه آنها سخن رانده اند. کمال اسمعیل میگوید:

با ترکتاز طره هندوی تو مرا
همواره همچو بنگه لوریست خان و مان

در تاریخ ایران نام لوریان نخست در داستانهای مربوط بروزگار ساسانیان آمده است نوشته اند که بهرام گور از شنگل یا شنگلت یا شبرمه پادشاه هند درخواست تا گروهی از آنان را از هند بایران گسیل دارد. روایتی که مولف (غرر اخبار) در این باره آورده است بدینگونه است.

"........گویند روزی شامگاهان بهرام از شکار باز میگشت. گروهی از مردم بازاری را دید که در زردی آفتاب غروب بر سبزه چمن نشسته اند.

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(۱) انجمن‌آرای ناصری

لولیان

بقلم آقای عبد الحسین زرین کوب

دلم ربوده لولی وشی است شور انگیز دروغ وعده و قتال وضع و رنگ‌آمیز

(حافظ)

درتحقیق احوال طوایف و اقوام بشری سرگذشت لولیان داستانی دلنشین و شگفت‌انگیز دارد. این مشتی مردم جهانگرد خانه بدوش سرگشته آواره که زندگی آنها آثار ارزنده‌ای به بودلر[1] پوشکین[2] و هوگو[3] و بسیاری گویندگان و هنرمندان دیگر الهام کرده است از دیر باز در همه جای دنیا پراکنده بوده اند و سرگذشتی مبهم و رازناک و شگفت‌انگیز داشته اند. زندگی آنها ساده و خشن دور از هیاهو و خالی از ماجرا گذشته است. مثل دریا وحشی و مثل نسیم آزاد زیسته اند. همواره درمیان طوفان حوادث بوده اند اما هیچگاه دستخوش امواج طوفان نگشته اند. پیوسته از کنار تمدن‌ها و فرهنگ‌های بشری گذشته اند لیکن هرگز خود را بقیود آن گرفتار ندیده اند. حتی مثل بسیاری از اقوام کهن نیز گذشته خود، سرگذشت پدران خود را جز در سرودها و تصنیف‌های دیرین خود بدست فراموشی سپرده اند.

با اینهمه در تاریخ و ادبیات ما از آنها بسیار یاد میشود. نه همان شادخواری و رامشجوئی و خنیاگری و سرگردانی و بی‌سر و سامانی آنها مورد توجه شاعران و نویسندگان ما واقع شده است بلکه در تاریخ گذشته ما نیز داستانهائی در باب اصل و منشاء آنها ذکر کرده اند. نوشته اند که بهرام گور عده‌ای از آنها را برای رامشگری و خنیاگری از هند به ایران آورد و در سراسر ایران پراکنده کرد. نیز گفته اند که شاپور هنگام بستن

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(1) Baudelaire (2) Pouchkine (3) V. Hugo

شده است حدس قوی اینکه این مکان بتخانه بوده زیرا پس از تسلط اسکندر بر ایران بیشتر آداب و عادات ایرانیها با یونانیها مخلوط شده و ایرانیها بتقلید یونانیها اصنام را میپرستیدند و این بتخانه را ایرانیان و یا یونانیان مقیم در ایران ساخته بودند در زمان تسلط ساسانیان و یا اعراب سوخته و بتها شکسته شده .

مردمان بسیاری در اطراف این بتخانه متبرک منزل داشتند زیرا قبور فراوانی در این ناحیه هست و یا بمناسبت متبرک بودن این مکان قبوری چند در کنار این بتخانه احداث شده است (مانند منازل متبرکه امروزه در دنیا) سورخین از بتخانهای یونانیان در ایران بسیار صحبت داشته اند ولی اولین دفعه‌ایست که این بتخانه در ایران (در شمی) بدست آمده است .

مکان این مجسمه‌ها در وسط مربعی است بعرض ۹ ۲ فوت و ٦ انچ و بطول ۳۰ فوت و ٦ انچ و دورا دور را هم مانند دالانی کنده بودند مجسمه‌ها را یافته سنگهای زیاد از زیر خاک با اجرهای بسیار ضخیم که شاید چهار اجر را روی یکدیگر بگذارند باز این اجرها قطورتر است (مانند اجرهای معروف کریم خانی) از زیر خاک پیدا شده بود مکانی را بما نشان داده و گفتند کوره اجر پزی شمی بوده است اجری را از سطح زمین بلند کردیم مکانی بشکل راه آب با ساخت اجر هویدا شد مکانی دیگر را باز دید نمودیم که قبرهای کبر بسیار بود (بطرز یونانی) چندین قبر درست و بقیه رالرها شکافته بودند کمی پائین تر در سطح این مکان تمام زمین بقطر دو سانتیمترا سفالت بود که یکورقه قرمز رنگی بر روی تمام این زمین واضح میبود بنای روی این زمین شاید از زمان ساسانیان باشد ولی آثاری زیاد در دست نبود تابتوان بطور قطع و یقین حدس زد فقط چندین ستون و سر ستون نمایان بود.

اما مجسمه‌ها از زیر این زمین اسفالت بدست آمده بود و در زیر این زمین تمدنی قدیم‌تر وجود داشت پس معلوم میشود که هم در سطح این زمین اسفالت‌ریزی تمدنی قدیمی (از دوره ساسانی) و هم در زیر این زمین اسفالت‌ریزی تمدنی قدیمی (از دوره پارتها) وجود داشته است (در سطح زمین اسفالت ستونهای سنگی بارتفاع یکمتر در چهار طرف دیده میشود) منظور ما از این حفاری پیدا کردن بن این عمارت و معین نمودن تمدن قطعی این زمین بود پس از مشغول شدن بحفاری در قسمتهای مختلف این بنا آثار زیادی از بازو و پنجه و انگشت و قطعات آهن و کوزه سفالی و شمع‌دان و میخ و خنجر و لگام اسب و صورت آدمی از آهن وغیره بدست آمد و پس از کاوش بیشتری طاقچه مانندی با اجر بعرض یکچارک و بطول سه چارک و در زیر راه آبی نمودار شد اثر سوختگی نیز بسیار نمایان گردید تعجب در این است که با نبودن راه خوب و نداشتن وسعت این مکان در این کوهستان این تمدن یونانی مخلوط به ایرانی چطور پیدا

(مانند علامت هشت ۸) و در زیر سردابی بزرگ تعبیه نموده اند طرز ساختمان این قبور بسیار دیدنی است چندین قبر را کندیم ولی آثار مشهودی بجز چند کوزه و قسمتی از استخوان بدست نیامد دیوارها و پی این بتخانه تا پیدا نشد دست از کار نکشیدیم .

شمی جای قشنگ مصفائی بود گل نرگس بسیار داشت هوا نسبةً خوب بود در این یک هفته که ما در شمی مکان داشتیم یک روز و یک شب باران مفصل و رعد و برق بود و کمی هم هوا در نتیجه بارندگی سرد شد .

شمی — این مکان درمیان کوه‌های بلند واقع و جائی نسبةً کوچک و بدون آبادی با راهی سخت و مشکل بود و تصور نمیرفت که تمدن قدیمی درانجا موجود باشد و یا در قدیم محل سکنای مردمانی قرارگرفته باشد در ۶۰ سال قبل خوانین بختیاری بنابر گفته اهالی پولی از این مکان بدست آورده اند و سپس در ۱۵ سال قبل هم حسین نامی با سردار جنگ بختیاری باین نواحی آمده و کمی حفاری نموده ولی چیزی بدست نیاورده است .

مردم بختیاری در این ناحیه برای تخته قاپو شدن خانه میساختند در حین کندن زمین کلنگ بسختی بند شد رعایا هم اصرار در بیرون آوردن آن داشتند آخر الامر با زحمت بسیار شکم آن مجسمه بزرگ را سوراخ کرده و زمانیکه خاک را عقب زدند مجسمه بدست آمد با سر و بدون دست و برای جستجو کردن دست مشغول حفاری شدند و در حال کاوش دست مجسمه را نیافته ولی دست دیگری با دو سر و مجسمه کوچک دیگری پیدا شد که ذکرش گذشت و دو قطعه سنگ بشکل مربع مستطیل و با جای پای مجسمه‌ها بیرون آمد و در حین کندن باز سنگی بشکل دیو یافته و خیال کردند که در شکم این سنگ دفینه است و سنگ را از وسط دو نیم کردند این جلگه تا ده شمی ۵ میل مسافت دارد .

سر بی‌دست، دست بی‌سر و سر بی‌پا و پای بی‌سر وغیره سنگ بزرگی بطول سه فوت و بعرض و ارتفاع یک فوت درکنار این بتخانه بر روی زمین قرار داشت که دو سیم کلفت از زمین سنگ را سوراخ کرده و بارتفاع ۳ سانتیمتر از سطح سنگ بالا آمده بود (شاید این سنگ مکان مجسمه بوده که با سیم بمجسمه برای محکمی و استحکام اتصال داشت و بعد شکسته و ریخته شده بود) در وسط بنا قبری و پله‌کانی با اجر و بسیار زیبا مشاهده شد[1] از زمان تسلط اسکندر و قبل از جهانگیری او در زمان پادشاهان هخامنشی پای یونانیان باین ملک باز شد زیرا ایرانیان بر متصرفات یونانی آسیای صغیر تسلط داشتند اما بخصوص از زمان اسکندر صنایع مستظرفه یونانی در ایران باوج ترقی رسید یونانیان در ایران زیاد شدند اشیاء ظریف را در یونان ساخته و بایران میاوردند و یا در ایران میساختند این صنایع شیوهٔ یونانی و ذوق ایرانی دارند صنعتکران یونانی یا بخاطر تجارت و یا بامر پادشاهان و امرا ایرانی و یا یونانی ایرانی شده این صنایع را ساخته و در ایران بمعرض فروش میرسانداند این معبد و بتخانه صنایع یونانی و ذوق ایرانی داشت در یونان ساخته شده ولی معلوم نیست در چه زمان خورد و شکسته گردیده است (ساسانیان ـ اسلام) .

شمی ناحیه‌ای وسیع و عام است این ناحیه بخصوص را که چن‌دار میگویند و دو طایفه در این ناحیه مسکن دارند در شمال سالیکورها از طایفه هفت لنگ بختیاری و در جنوب طایفه بوبری‌ها .

سالیکورها نیمه متمدن اند اما بوبری‌ها متمدن‌ترند پس از حفاری کامل در این مکان بقبوری چند که شکافته نشده بود پرداختیم این قبور یونانی است سنگهای بزرگ در سر بشکل طاق ضربی یعنی دو سنگ را بهم قفل کرده اند

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(۱) برای اطلاعات بیشتری رجوع شود بمجله 'Revue des Arts Asiatiques' و شهر دورا 'Dura' که تا زمان اردشیر باقی مانده و بتخانه بسیار معظمی داشته و اشیاء بسیاری ازان مکان بدست آمده زیرا پس از اردشیر دیگر بنائی نشده و یکسره خراب و ویرانه مانده و تمام بتخانه در زیر زمین مدفون گردیده است .

۱ — یک مجسمه تمام قد با سر ولی بدون دست بسیار بزرگ قامت این مجسمه ۹ فوت و ۵ انچ و عرضش ۲ فوت و ۴ انچ سر این مجسمه از جنس تنه او نیست شاید مقداری طلا مخلوط دارد ولی تنه مجسمه شاید برنز باشد لباس این مجسمه عبارت است از کلاه وگیسوان که در پشت سر تابیده اما جلوی سر را بطرز یونانی بسته و کت و شلوار وگردن بند و کمربند دانه نشان و در روی ران یک شمشیر و یک خنجر دارد. (امروز در موزه ایران باستان دیده میشود).

بواسطه زدن کلنگ در موقع کندن پی بنا و بی‌احتیاطی شکم این مجسمه سوراخ شده است این مجسمه از سرداران پارتی است[1].

۲ — یک مجسمه کوچکتر با لباس و طنابی روی دوش که یکدست بدان دارد با چکمه ـ طول این مجسمه نیم متر است.

۳ — دو سر از مرمر یکی یونانی (یعنی حجاری یونانی) که از یونان بایران آمده و شاید سر آفرودیتا Afroolita باشد و دیگری سر پارتی.

۴ — دو دست از مرمر یکی بزرگ و دیگری کوچک (امروز در موزه ایران باستان دیده میشود).

شمی حصاری هم از سنگ چین داشته که کاملا مشهود و واضح است و هنوز نیمی بجا و نیمی ریخته دو در یکی در طرف شمال شرق و دیگری در طرف شمال غربی که مخصوص بتخانه بود نمایان گردید که از سنگ یک تخته ساخته شده و در زیر هم سنگ چین شده بود تمام سطح زمین را آنقدر کندیم تا بطبقه سنگ فرش رسیدیم این بنا از اثر باد و باران خراب نشده بلکه از دست آدمی ویران گردیده است اشیاء شکسته و خورد شده بسیار دیدیم از قبیل

(۱) در ایران آثار هخامنشی و ساسانی بسیار است ولی از پارتها (اشکانیان) اثری در دست نیست و اگر هم بدست بیاید بسیار کم است.

شهر ایذه چنانکه گفته شد شهر قدیم و رابطه تجارت از خیلی قبل (ساسانیان ـ اسلام اتابکان لرستان) بین اهواز و اصفهان بوده و بعداً بکلی خراب و ویران شده و راه‌ها از بین رفته و هیچ آبادی نداشته جز دستگاه خان بختیاری وغیره ولی اکنون کمی بهتر شده است.

ادارات ـ مالیه ـ پست ـ امنیه ـ سجل احوال ـ دارد.

در مالامیر چشمه نیست جز دو قنات فقط چشمه‌ای در داخل اشکفت سلمان جاری بود.

در ایذه عموم جغرافیون عرب از پلی بر روی مسیلی که سابقاً نیز ذکرش گذشت صحبت کرده اند در وقت زمستان آب باران در مسیل باطلاقی تشکیل میدهد و از پل هیچ نشانه‌ای نیست.

ایذه جلگه بسیار وسیعی است که در اطراف کوهای فراوان دارد وسط این جلگه شهر قدیمی و حالیه شهر جدید ایذه میباشد در کنار دامنه کوها نیز کومه و سیاه چادرهای بیشماری دیده میشود.

در مشرق آن کوه منگشت واقع است که در تابستان هم برف دارد.

ایذه شهری مالاریا خیز است زیرا سردابهای بسیار دارد و مدخلی هم برای خارج کردن این ابهای بیهوده نیست معمرین و سالخوردگان اظهار میدارند که در ۵۰ سال قبل مدخلی این فاضل اب داشته ولی حالیه بکلی از بین رفته است جغرافیون عرب از خربوزه‌های ایذه بسیار صحبت داشته اند و حالیه بجز زراعت سبب زمینی محصولی ندارد.

در ایذه منزل دین علی مامور انتظامات دو سه مجسمه که از شمی آورده بودند دیدیم، این مجسمه‌ها در موقع کندن پی برای تخته قاپو از زیر خاک بدست آمده بود، و این مجسمه‌ها عبارتند از.

در یک تصویر دو نفر ایستاده و در نقش دیکر سه نفر نیز دیده میشوند[۱] .

در داخل تنگ ده بزرگی قریب ۵۰ خانه میباشد این ده و گاو و گوسفندان و مردمان سبب شده است که داخل این اشکفت بسیار کثیف و در حقیقت آغلی بنظر میرسد .

کول فره – کول فره[۲] دره‌ای بس با صفا و خوب و تمیز و خانه‌هائی چند در ابتداء دره بود در این دره چندین سنگ منقوش بنظر رسید سنگی که شاید ۲۰۰ نقش داشت[۳] اما افسوس که باران همه را از بین برده و اثری جز برآمدگی سنگ بجا نبود و تنها سنگی که در زیر کمری واقع شده بود و نقوشی با خط میخی چند داشت از آسیب روزگار مصون مانده است .

باید کفته شود که قسمتی از جاده اتابکی[۴] که در قدیم بطرف اصفهان میرفت هنوز واضح و کاملا نمایان است .

ما چندین روز برای حفاری تل قدیمی در ایذه مشغول بودیم این تل ارتفاع زیادی نداشت ولی بسیار وسیع است - آثار کوزه شکسته بسیار . نقش داروبی نقش در این تپه نمایان و معلوم گردید که قبل از تاریخ در مالامیر هم مردمانی سکونت داشته و تمدن قدیمی در ایذه موجود بوده است شاید این تمدن از اعصار قبل از تاریخ باشد .

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(۱) رجوع شود بکتاب لیارد (Lyard).

(۲) این اسم را بعض کول فره و برخی کوت فرنگ خوانده اند شنیدلر Schindler سیاح معروف این اسم را کوت فرنگ خوانده و میکوید کوت بمعنای خانه و فرنگ هم چون این نقاشیها لباسهای کوتاه دارند شبیه بفرنگیها هستند بدین مناسبت مردمان ایذج این دخمه را خانه فرنگیها نام داده اند این اجتهاد بکلی غلط و کول بمعنی دره و فره هم بمعنای خوشحالی غرض آنکه عموما درهها دلتنگ و این دره حقیقة روح‌افزا و بعکس همه درههاست .

(۳) رجوع شود بکتاب لیارد و تاریخ مشیر الدوله .

(۴) اتابک نصرة الدین احمد .

لیارد عالم انگلیسی مدتی از عمر خود را در ایذه گذرانده و کتاب بسیار مفیدی راجع بتمام خصوصیات طوایف بختیاری از خود برشته تالیف کشیده است .

ابن بطوطه طنجی در عهد سلطنت سلطان ابو سعید مغول (۷۲۵ هجری) بقصد مسافرت و سیاحت آسیا حرکت کرده و در کتابش موسوم به تحفة النظار فی غرائب الامصار و عجائب الانظار اظهار میدارد که در عهد حکمرانی اتابک افراسیاب در شوشتر و ایذج باین نواحی مسافرت کرده و اظهار میدارد (که از شهر شوشتر مسافرت نمودم سه منزل راه پیمودم و این سه منزل جمیع راه من از جبال شامخه بود پس از طی این منازل بشهر ایذج آمدم پادشاهان شوشتر و ایذج را چنین اسم می‌برد . اتابک افراسیاب بن سلطان اتابک احمد ـ اتابک افراسیاب ثانی بن اتابک نصرة الدین احمد[۱] اتابک یوسف شاه ثانی ـ اتابک افراسیاب ثانی .

اشکفت سلمان — اشکفت سلمان (سلیمان)[۲] دخمه و غاری در کوه طبیعی است که بسیار عجیب و غریب بنظر میرسد منظره دلچسب و زیبا دارد چشمه آب صافی که در تابستان هم خشک نمیشود از زیر سنگهای این اشکفت میگذرد از تمام قسمتهای این اشکفت از بالا آب چکه میکرد شخص خیال میکند که باران میبارد داخل این اشکفت در وسط کوه دو سنگ نقاشی و کنده‌کاری شده بود و هر دو هم بواسطه حوادث دوران محکوک گردیده و از بین رفته فقط خط‌های میخی در کنار یک نقش نمایان بود آنهم بواسطه باران کاملا معلوم نمیشد از طرفی دیگر این حکاکی در وسط کوه بالای اشکفت و دسترسی بآن دشوار بود .

(۱) دیباچه تاریخ معجم و تاریخ لیارد در شرح حال این اتابک گفتار مفصلی دارد.

(۲) اشکفت و شکفت در زبان فارسی بمعنای غار و دخمه است .

مالامیر (ایذه - ایذج)[1]

اثر خامهٔ آقای دکتر بهمن کریمی

مالامیر شهر بسیار قدیمی و از تلها و تپه‌هائی که در اطراف این شهر نمایان است واضح میشود بخصوص تپه بسیار بزرگی که خانه و کومه و سیاه چادرهای حالیه شهر ایذه در سر آن واقع است این تپه بسیار مرتفع و یقیناً آبادی قدیمی بوده شاید چندین نوبت در این شهر آبادی شده و ویران گردیده است قبل از اسلام این شهر ایذه و بعد از اسلام ایذج نام داشته دارای آتشکده‌ای هم بوده که تا زمان هرون الرشید بجا مانده است پلی بر روی مسیلی که از عجایب بوده داشته و گردابی از نمک در این مکان موجود که هر کس در این گرداب میافتاده آنقدر چرخ میخورده تا میمرده است و به ته مرداب نمیرفته .

از تمام این مکانها اثری بجا نمانده است .

المقدسی — این خرد ادبه و یاقوت (در معجم البلدان) و (مراة البلدان) از این شهر قدیمی اسم میبرند افسوس که همه آثار از بین رفته و اثری از هیچکدام باقی نیست حالیه میدان وسیعی بدون سکنه شاید ۳۰۰ الی ۴۰۰ خانه آنهم خانه‌هائی با گل و کومه و بازار مختصری از اصفهانیها چیز دیگری بنظر نمیرسد شاید ایذه از قدیم سر راه تجارت بین اصفهان و اهواز بوده است در زمان حکومت بختیاریها این نواحی بین راه (راه ایذه باصفهان) مرتبا دائر بوده است بدین ترتیب :

اهواز - ویس - رقبه - کزی - جارو - چشمه روغنی - آل خورشید - قلعه تل - ایذه - پل شالو - ده‌دز - شلیل سرخون - دوپلون - ناقون - شلم‌زار - قهوه رخ - بیسکون - پل برکون - اصفهان .

(۱) ضبط این اسم بکسر همزه و باو ذال معجمه مفتوحه و جیم میباشد و نیز آنرا مالامیر گویند و غرض از اسم امیر سلطان اتابک افراسیاب نصرة الدین میباشد .

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NOTES ON A TRIP TO THE BIYABANAK, SEISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN

By

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ON the 25th of Azar, 1330 (17th December, 1951) Professor Georges Redard of the University of Neuchatel, Switzerland, Murray Barry of Brown University, U.S.A., and I left Tehran to make an extensive trip to the Biyabanak, Seistan and Baluchistan. The purpose of the trip was manifold; Professor Redard and I wanted to study the dialects of the Biyabanak and the Baluchi dialects of Seistan, and Chahbahar on the coast of the Indian Ocean. We also hoped to visit the site of the Parthian inscription near Birjand copied by Jemal Rezayi, student of the Edebiyyat Faculty of the University of Tehran, and the famous ancient site of Kuh-i-Khwaja in Seistan. Furthermore we planned to go as far as Chahbahar in search of a Greek amphitheatre which was seen by a KLM pilot whose plane landed near Chahbahar during a storm in 1938. Since the Greek historians of Alexander the Great spoke of the presentation of plays to amuse his soldiers on their march back to Susa from India, there was nothing improbable in the discovery of a Greek amphitheatre in Baluchistan.

There are a great number of Iranian dialects of interest to the linguist. A list of them may be found in the introduction to the new edition of the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* by Dr. Muḥammad mo'in. Many of them have been studied, although some only from armchairs in Tehran. It was necessary to go into the field to obtain the best informants because residents of Tehran who had been born in Nain, Naṭanz or elsewhere frequently mix their dialect with Tehran slang, and also they forget their native dialect. Our first study was the dialect of Nain, which is similar to the dialect of Anarak but quite distinct from Naṭanzi to the north. Nain is on the edge of the Kavir desert and much lower in altitude than Naṭanz and Ardistan.

The dialect of Nain (and Anarak) extends as far east into the desert to the oasis of Chupanan, north as far as Ardistan and south to Ardakan where the dialect of Yezd supplants it. Nainī resembles closely the dialect of the Zoroastrians of Yezd and shows ancient survivals; e.g. *massih* مسیه "large" is *mas* مس in the Gabrī of Yezd as well as Avestan and Pahlevi. The word for son پسر which in Nainī is ره shows that Nainī is a northern dialect since the Parthian form of the word is puhr پهر as opposed to southern, Sas sanian, pus. پس The word for house is *kiyeh* کییه a cognate of *kadeh* کده as in *ateshkadeh*. The word for *farsakh* is much closer to the older form in Iranian.

It is easy to understand why the dialect of Nain should resemble Yezdi and also be practically identical with that of Anarak. Anarak is a comparatively new mining centre which lacks any means of support save the lead and copper in the nearby hills. It is a barren desert oasis with only one small spring of water and food must be brought from Nain or even from Isfahan. Nain lies at the bottom of a huge bowl and is very hot in the summer. Communications are easier to Yezd than to Isfahan over the mountains or to Naṭanz to the north. Hence geographically Nain belonged to the Yezd region. Only in 1951 was Nain separated from Yezd and made a *shahristan*. Because of the one automobile road the entire Biyabanak was removed from the jurisdiction of Yezd and placed under Nain. This entire region was once much more populated with Zoroastrians but the persecutions of Shah Sultan Ḥusain Ṣafavī caused a great decline in their numbers. Indeed, if it had not been for the Afghan invasion at that time the Zoroastrian centres of Ardakan and Yezd might have been wiped out.

In Anarak we recorded music on my tape recording machine and took notes on the local dialect. The country around Anarak is barren and desolate. What a surprise then when we drove over a hill, after crossing a difficult desert, and found before our eyes a paradise of green—the oasis of Chupanan. Chupanan was formerly only a well (چاه) , and as such it is marked on all the maps. It had one building—a caravansarai on the road to Jandaq and Shahrud in Khurasan—fifty years ago. But then a *qanaat* was built and sweet water was found. People came from Anarak and from Khur and started to build a town. During World War I it suffered a setback as did all towns in this area from the raids of Naib Husain Kashī. Kashī came from Kashan with about 1,000 men and captured Anarak, Jandaq, Khur, and his men ravaged the countryside all the way to Tabbas. In Anarak only fifty people were left after his raid. Two years after his first invasion Kashī came again but this time the people of the area had help from Shahrud and elsewhere and Kashī was unable to capture Anarak or Jandaq.

The people of this area remembered the Baluchi raids in the time of the Kajars. In the time of Muḥammad Shah Kajar twelve Baluchi *yaghis* raided as far as Anarak and stole camels. A short time later 80 came again but this time the people of Anarak were ready for them. At Chāh Tāshak چاه تاشک they were surprised at night by Anaraki *tufangchis* who had caught up with them by forced marches. All of the Baluchis were killed except one captive who was taken to Tehran and executed. After this 400 Baluchis came for revenge and attacked Khur which they captured. The people of Khur furnished foot soldiers for the Kajars while the Anarakis furnished *tufangchis*. They united to fight the Baluchis but were defeated by the Baluchis at Kūh-i-Tashdaw کوه تشدو 3 farsakh from Khur. The last Baluchi raid was during the time of Reza

Shah Pahlavi when Malik Shah Khan raided with forty men but retreated without stealing anything.

The people of the Biyabank developed a system of fire signals to warn of approaching Baluchis. The first tower was at Ribat-i-Pusht-i-Pusht-i-Badam which sent the message by fire to Iraj ایرج . From the Iraj tower it was transmitted to Kalawor Khane کلاور خانه , and then to the mines at Nakhlak, and finally to Anarak. During the day smoke signals were used and fire at night. The Baluchis used to raid every year in the winter; those from Nehbandan were Shi'ites while those from Khash were Sunnis. I suspect that these Baluchi raids to the north preserve a memory of their former homeland in the minds of the Baluchis. For the Baluchi dialects are northern Iranian dialects closely related to Khuri, Farvī (the dialect of the oasis of Farrukhī) and others of the Biyabanak region.

The water of the *qanaat* of Chupanan is always warm, and the oasis produces barley, wheat, dates, grapes and *anar*. The people are enterprising and have conquered the desert, extending the cultivated area out into the desert. Near Chupanan there was formerly a *jangal*, but it was all cut down for fire wood. Enterprising *sardār* Ṭabatabaī hoped that it would be possible to plant trees again for he recognised their value.

Our next stop was Jandaq where we hoped to find an interesting dialect since Jandaq is the most northern of the oases of the Biyabanak, and, as we observed, the most isolated of them, being on the edge of the great *kavīr*. But we were surprised to find that at Jandaq the people only speak Farsi. This was a puzzle for dialects are spoken all around Jandaq —to the north in Semnan, to the south in Khur and Farrukhī, and to the west in Kashan, Naṭanz, and Anarak. I believe the answer to this lies in the fact that Jandaq was a place of exile تابیدگاه in old times. The people said it was a *tābīdgāh* in the time of Anushirwan, but I suspect it must have been in Safavi times because the Farsi of Jandaq seemed similar to that of Isfahan, the capital of the Safavis. The oldest part of Jandaq is the *qaleh*, which is very strong. There is a camel post to Damghan twice a month. The postman, Hajj Maḥmad, told us about ancient ruins about 7 farsakhs from Torud ترود , which may be the ruins of the ancient capital of the Parthians, Hecatompylos.

This is the only ancient capital which has not been found. The American archaeologist Schmidt thought that the present town of Damghan was the site of the ancient capital but he found no proof. Now it seems fairly certain that in ancient times the *kavir* did not extend as far north as it does today and the direct route from Rayy to the east, to Herat, did not go to the north, to Shahrud and Sabzawar, as it does to-day, but rather it went more directly to the east through what is now desert. Part of this old route still exists from Turbat-i-Haidari to Kishmar, but then it is lost in the desert. It is quite possible that the ruins of the Parthian capital may lie under the sand near the oasis of Torud.

We had great difficulty on crossing the kavir between Jandaq and Farrukhi. Farrukhi was an interesting oasis with a strange dialect. We noticed that the women and girls here wore a headdress like the Arabs, called *chepiye* چپیه in the dialect of Farvī, which is عقال *eqāl* in Persian. The local names of the oases of the Biyabanak:—Jandaq is called Ginde (گیندده) in Farvi, Beyazeh (بیازه) or Biyabanak is Mefazak (میفزک). There are no antiquities in the area, only a rumour that at Deh-i-no ; some 6 kilometres south of Mihragān (مهرگان) there used to be an *ateshkadeh.* The conversion of the entire Biyabank area to Islam came in the time of Imam Reza, when missionaries came from Nain, Yezd, Semnan, and Tus. But the people were hostile to the Muslims and there was a battle in which the Iranians were defeated and consequently accepted Islam.

The chief occupation of Khur is working on products of the date palm, which is called *mog* in the local dialect. The trees produce dates once every two years during Farvardin. But the people make rope, clothes and baskets from the date palm; this is their livelihood. The oasis of Khur has three *qanaats* but the water is salty. Khur is not as old as Jarmaq, Jandaq and Mihrajan, but the entire area is certainly much older than the Islamic conquest. The late conversion to Islam is not surprising for we know now that the Arab conquest of Iran did not change the majority of the people from their old religion, but only the top classes who wished to share the rewards of becoming a Muslim. From the life of Shaik Kāzerūnī[1] we learn that in Fars in the fourth century of the Hegira Muslims were afraid to build a mosque for fear of the Zoroastrians who were in great majority.

I suspect that the Biyabanak, or at least the oasis of Farrukhi, provided a convenient winter retreat for the Arabs when they came to Iran. For the winter climate of the Iranian plateau was too cold for the Arabs and they looked for areas which reminded them of their homeland. The Biyabanak was one such area, and I wonder if it was not a centre of Arab control in Iran for it is centrally located with easy caravan routes to Khurasan, to Yezd and to the north.

At Beyazeh we found a manuscript in Arabic, dated the year 1003 of the Hegira, but copied on modern paper perhaps only forty years old. This *Jang-name* or *Waqf-name* tells how the Arabs came to the Biyabanak in the year 422 of the Hegira to convert the people. It further gives the conditions of peace established by the Arabs and the division of lands between Persians and Arabs. It also gives a list of the *imamzadehs* founded in the entire Biyabanak region.

From Khur we went to Riba-i-Pushti-Badam and then to Tabbas. On the very difficult road to Tabbas we passed a number of caravansarais built of stone like fortresses in the style of the Crusader castles of Syria and Cilicia (Turkey). These were certainly from the time of Shah ' Abbas, the great builder of caravansarais.

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۱ فردوس المرشدیة في اسرار الصمدیة ، استانبول ، مطبعة معارف ، ۱۹۴۳ ع

In Tabbas we found electric lights and shelter in the guest house of the famous Gulshan garden. Those who made the saying "go to Tun and Tabbas," meaning "go to hell" certainly made a mistake about Tabbas; this town is a beautiful oasis with oranges and dates, and most interesting and very enterprising population. The *arg* is very impressive, although now in ruins. The town has some very deep underground water tanks (*hauz*) and, although it becomes very hot in summer it has a wonderful climate in the winter. In Firdaus (former Tun) are the ruins of a structure called the Takht-i-Hulagu, possibly dating from Mongol times.

At Behdukht near Gunabad we visited the lovely new shrine of Salih 'Ali Shah, which we were later to compare with the shrine of Shaikh Ni'matu'llāh in Mahan near Kirman. Near Birjand we visited the site of the Parthian relief and inscription carved on the rocks high upon a mountain peak. The relief shows a Parthian prince strangling a lion with his bare hands. This is the first inscription and relief found in Eastern Iran, and it probably dates from the time of the first Sassanid shah (اردشیر بابکان) .

On the road to Zabul, Seistan we passed a village called Hurmuk (هرمک) where the people are Brahuis speaking a language related to the Dravidian tongues of the Deccan, India, and completely distinct from Persian and Baluchi.

Seistan was a surprise just as the Biyabanak had been, for here we found green fields and water from the large Helmund river making the area very important with agricultural products sent even to Tehran.

In Seistan I visited the two dams being constructed on the Helmund river at Zahak and Duhuk, the village of Adimi on the edge of the the Hamun, and finally the famous ancient site of Kuh-i-Khwaja, a holy mountain mentioned in the Avesta. We were guests of the *reis-i-farhang*, and also of the 'Alam family and Naṣr Khan Irani, chief of the Narui tribe, who was later killed in pre-election rioting in Zabul.

Seistan is a paradise for the archaeologist for there are *tepes* and ruined sites from all periods of history untouched by the spade of the digger. There is the story of a city under the waters of the Hamun called *shahr-i-Savor shah;* then there is the site of *shahr-i-sukhte,* where we stopped and found the entire ground covered with potsherds and even whole pots, some of very ancient manufacture. To travel to Kuh-i-Khwaja I went five farsakhs by horse and one by small boat called *tutin* in Seistan. We saw many water buffalo *en route* to the site. Kuh-i-Khwaja has a number of interesting ruins on it; the town is called *shahr-i-Kok,* built on the southern side of the mountain. On top of the mountain is the *qaleh-Kok-i-Kohzad* and to the west is a *kushk-i-chihil dukhtaran.* On the northern part of the mountain is an *imamzadeh* and the surface of the mountain is covered with graves dating from the Parthian to recent times. The most interesting feature of the ruins were the traces of gold and blue paint on the walls of the ruins,

evidence of a pre-Islamic structure. The wall paintings were removed by the German archaeologist Herzfeld but unfortunately they have crumbled.

After Seistan we continued to Zahidan, Khash and Iranshahr. In the last town we studied the Baluchi dialect of Chahbahar and recorded music of the area. Then we returned by way of Bam, Māhān (ماهان), Kirman, Yezd, Isfahan, Shiraz, back to Isfahan, and then to Tehran, a trip of almost two months. We hope to publish several studies on this trip, one on the dialects and another a general account of the trip.

SHĀH NI'MATU'LLĀH THE KING OF DERVISHES

By

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SHĀH Nūru'd-Dīn Sayyid Ni'matu'llāh who is said to have descended from the fifth Imām, Muḥammad Bāqir[1], was the son of Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh. He was born at Aleppo[2] on Rajab 22, 730[3] (May 11, 1313). From the age of five he showed signs of a mystical bent of mind. He studied the various sciences under celebrated divines like Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, Shaykh Shamsu'd-Dīn Makkī, Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Khwārizmī and Qāẓī 'Aẓudu'd-Dīn. As he loved the company of ṣūfī saints, he travelled far and wide in quest of them. After spending most part of his youth in Iraq, he went to Mecca at the age of twenty-four and stayed there for seven years. He became a disciple and vicegerent of the well-known mystical and historical writer Shaykh 'Afīfu'd-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh b. As'ad al-Yāfi-'ī of Yemen (b. A. H. 698/A.D. 1928 ; d. 20th Jumādá II, 768/21st February, 1367[4]). He then visited Samarqand, Yazd and Herāt and finally settled in Māhān near Kirmān, where he died on the 22nd Rajab, 834[5] (5th April, 1431) aged 103 or 104 years.

That the saint lived a long life is evidenced by his following verses which also throw light on the innocent and honest life he led:

قرب صد سال عمر من بگذشت   قصد موری نکرده ام بخدا
نان خود خورده ام بکسب حلال   مال غیري نخورده ام بخدا

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[1] Riẓā-qulī Khān Hidāyat gives his geneology as:

شاه نور الدین سید نعمت الله بن سید عبدالله بن محمد بن عبد الله بن کمال الدین بن یحیي بن هاشم بن موسي بن جعفر بن صالح بن محمد بن جعفر بن الحسن بن محمد بن جعفر بن محمد بن اسمعیل بن ابی عبدالله بن محمد الباقر بن علي زین العابدین بن حسین السبط بن علی -

Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā ii, 42.

[2] Riẓā-qulī Khān Hidāyat in his *Riyāẓu'l-'Ārifīn* mentions Kūhistan, a village in Herāt as the place of birth of the poet.

[3] Or in the year A.H. 731.

[4] See Brockelmann ii, 177; Ahlwardt 8801-2; Rieu, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts* p. 427.

[5] According to Riẓā-qulī Khān Hidāyat (*Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* ii, 43) the saint died at the age of 105 and according to the chronogram عارف اسرار وجود quoted by him, he died in A.H. 832

He was a Shi'ite belonging to the Sect of the Twelve (*Ithnā 'Ashariyyah*) as is inferred from the following lines from his pen:

خواهی که ز دوزخ برهانی دل و تن　　اثنی عشري شو و گزین مذهب من
دانی سه محمد بود و چار علی　　با موسی و جعفر و حسین و دو حسن[1]

He worked miracles and also founded a Ṣūfī order known as *Ni'matu'l-lāhī*. He stood in high favour with Shāh-rukh (A.H. 807-50/A.D. 1404-47), the son of Tamerlane and father of the celebrated astronomer King Ullugh Beg. Once he said that as he was a saint he was sure that Providence would guard him against enjoying things forbidden by religion. Shāh-rukh just to test the correctness of his claim ordered his cook to seize a lamb from a widow, prepare it and send it to the saint. The cook carried out the order of his master and served the saint with the cooked lamb which he partook with relish. The King then triumphantly pointed out to the saint that his claim was unjustifiable as he partook the lamb which had been forcibly taken away from a widow. Meanwhile the widow suddenly appeared on the scene and implored for justice for the wrong done to her by the cook of the royal household. She said that her son had been absent from home and she had made a vow that she would present the lamb to the saint if her son returned home. Her son had already returned and she was coming with the lamb to present it to the saint.

The King of the Deccan, Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī (A.H. 825-38/A.D. 1421-35) deemed himself fortunate in persuading the saint to send one of his grandsons to his court. Later on two other grandsons Shāh Ḥabību'llāh and Shāh Muḥibbu'llāh with their father Khalilu'llāh came to the Deccan and rose to a high rank at the Brahmanī court.[2] Those of his descendants who remained in Iran intermarried with the Ṣafavīs[3] and amassed immense fortunes.[4]

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh left more than 500 Ṣūfī tracts, besides his *dīvān*. He is more a mystic than a poet and to put it in the language of Browne 'his verse strikes one on the whole as monotonous and mediocre, similar in

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1 The names of the twelve shi'ite Imāms given in chronological order, with their dates of birth and death within brackets, are:

1. 'Alī (assassinated 17th Ramaẓān, 40/24th January, 661), 2. Ḥasan (b. 3/624-5; possibly poisoned 50/670-1), 3. Ḥusayn (d. 10th Muḥarram 61/10th October, 680), 4. 'Alī Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn (b. 36/656-7 or 38/658-9; d. 94/712), 5. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (b. 57/676-7; d. 113/731-2) 6. Ja'far as-Ṣādiq (b. 80/699-700; d. 148/765-6), 7. Mūsā al-Kāzim (b. 129/746-7; d. 183/799-800), 8. 'Alī ar-Raẓā (d. 203/818), 9. Muḥammad at-Taqī (b. 195/810-1; d. 220/835), 10. 'Alī an-Naqī (b. 212/827-8; d. 245/868), 11. Ḥasan al-'Askarī (b. 232/846-7; d. 260/873-4) and 12. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (b. 225/869; believed disappeared 265/878-9).

2 *Firishta* i, 633.

3 *Jāmi -i-Mufīdī*.

4 *Haft Iqlīm*.

style and subject-matter to that of Maghribī, and altogether lacking the consuming ardour and brilliant illustration of Shams-i-Tabrīz.[1] He wrote Qaṣīdas, ghazals, masnavīs and rubā'īs. But he is more remarkable for the poems composed in prophetic strain in the midst of his divine rapture. There is a long poem[2] in his *dīvān* which unfolds mysteries about the distracted state of the world. The late Professor E. G. Browne, while at Māhān visited the shrine of the saint in August, 1888[3] and took the trouble of obtaining a copy of this poem from the oldest and most trustworthy manuscript of the dīvān available there. The text of the poem and its translation into English by Browne are given below:

قدرت کردگار می بینم * حالت روزگار می بینم
حال[4] امسال صورتی دگرست * نه چو پیرار و پار می بینم
از نجوم این سخن نمی گویم * بلکه از کردگار می بینم
عین ورا دال چون گذشت ازسال[5] * بو العجب کار و بار می بینم
درخراسان و مصر و شام و عراق * فتنه و کارزار می بینم[6]
ظلمت ظلم ظالمان دیار * بیحد و بیشمار می بینم
قصهٔ بس عجیب[7] می شنوم * غصهٔ در دیار می بینم
جنگ و آشوب و فتنه و بیداد * ازیمین و یسار می بینم
غارت و قتل و لشکر بسیار * درمیان و کنار می بینم
بندهٔ را خواجهوش همی بینم * خواجه را بندهوار می بینم
سکهٔ نو زنند بر رخ زر * درهمش کم عیار می بینم
دوستان عزیز هر قومی * گشته غمخوار و خوار می بینم
هریک از حاکمان هفت اقلیم * دیگری را دوچار می بینم
ماه را روسیاه می بینم[8] * مهر را دلفگار می بینم
نصب و عزل بتکجی و عمال * هریکی را دو بار می بینم

[1] Browne, *Literary History of Persia* iii, 465, Cambridge, 1928.
[2] According to Rieu the poem referred to above was composed in A.H. 777.
[3] Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, p. 586, Cambridge, 1926.
[4] In other Mss. حکم ; *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* has not got this line.
[5] This hemistich has different readings, viz., غين و ري دال چون گذشت از سال, عين و زي ذال چون گذشت از سال and عين و زي ضاد چون گذشت از سال.
[6] In the *Majma'* this verse is followed by:

گرد آئینهٔ ضمیر جهان * گرد و زنگ و غبار مي بینم

[7] In some Mss. "غريب".
[8] In some Mss. "يابم".

ترک و تاجیک را بهمدیگر * خصمی و گیر و دار می بینم
تاجر از دست دزد بی همراه * مانده در رهگذار می بینم
مکر و تزویر و حیلهٔ بسیار[1] * از صغار و کبار می بینم
حال هندو خراب می یابم * جور ترک و تتار می بینم
بقعهٔ خیر سخت گشته خراب * جای جمعی شرار می بینم
بعضی اشجار بوستان جهان * بی بهار و ثمار می بینم
اندکی امن اگر بود آن هم[2] * در حد کوهسار می بینم
همدمی و قناعت و کنجی * حالیا اختیار می بینم
گر چه می بینم این همه غمها * شادی غمگسار می بینم
غم مخور ز آنکه من درین تشویش * خرمن[3] وصل یار می بینم
بعد امسال و چند سال دگر * عالمی چون نگار می بینم
این جهان را چو مصر می نگرم * عدل او را حصار می بینم
هفت باشد وزیر و سلطانم * همه را کام یار[4] می بینم
عاصیان از امام معصوم * خجل و شرمسار می بینم
بر کف دست ساقی وحدت * بادهٔ خوشگوار می بینم
غازی دوستدار دشمن کش * همدم و یار یار[5] می بینم
تیغ آهن دلان زنگ زده * کند و بی اعتبار می بینم
زینت شرع و رونق اسلام * هریکی را دو بار می بینم[6]
گرگ با میش و شیر با آهو * در چرا بر قرار می بینم
گنج کسری و نقد اسکندر * همه بر روی کار می بینم
ترک عیار مست می نگرم * خصم او در خمار می بینم
نعمت الله نشسته در کنجی * از همه بر کنار می بینم
چون زمستان پنجمین بگذشت * ششمش خوش بهار می بینم

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1 In some Mss. the reading is: مکر و تزویر و حیله در هر جا.

2 *Majma'*: آن روز.

3 Another reading: خرمی.

4 Another reading: کامگار.

5 Another reading: یار غار

6 *Majma'*: محکم و استوار می بینم.

نائب مهدی آشکار شود * بلکه من آشکار می بینم
پادشاهی تمام دانائی * سروری با وقار می بینم[1]
بندگان جناب حضرت او * سر بسر تاجدار می بینم
تا چهل سال ای برادر من * دور آن شهریار می بینم
دور او چون شود تمام بکام * پسرش یادگار می بینم
پادشاهی تمام دانائی[2] * شاه عالی تبار می بینم
بعد ازو خود امام خواهد بود * که جهان را مدار می بینم
میم حا میم دال می خوانم[3] * نام آن نامدار می بینم
صورت و سیرتش چو پیغمبر * علم و حلمش شعار می بینم[4]
ید بیضا که باد پاینده * باز با ذوالفقار می بینم
مهدی وقت و عیسی دوران * هر دو را شهسوار می بینم

گلشن شرع را همی بویم
گل دین را ببار می بینم

" I see the Power of the Maker ; I see the state of the time.

The state of this year is of another sort ; not like last year and the year before do I see it.

These words I speak not from the stars ; rather I see them from the Creator.

When 'ayn rā and dāl (=274) have passed of the years I see wonderful doings.

In Khurāsān, Egypt, Syria and 'Irāq I see sedition and strife.

I see the darkness of the tyranny of the lands' oppressors boundless and beyond computation.

I hear a very strange story ; I see vexation in the land.

War, strife, mischief and injustice I see on the right and on the left.

Looting, slaughter and many armies I see in the midst and around.

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[1] This verse in some Mss. is followed by:

هرکجا رو نهد بفضل اله ❀ دشمنش خاکسار مي بينم

[2] This verse is a repetition of the fourth preceding line. Another reading is:

پادشاه و امام هفت اقليم.

[3] *Majma'*: ميم وحي ميم و دال ميخوانم

[4] In some Mss. this verse is followed by:

دين و دنيا ازو شود معمور ❀ خلق ازو بختيار مي بينم

I see the servant like the master ; I see the master like a servant.

They impress a new superscription on the face of the gold ; I see his *dirhams* of short weight.

I see the dear friends of every people grown sorrowful and abased.

Each of the rulers of the Seven Climes I see involved with another.

I see the face of the moon darkened ; I see the heart of the sun transfixed.

The appointment and dismissal of officials and agents, each one I see twice repeated.

In Turk and Tajik towards one another I see enmity and strife.

I see the merchant left friendless on the road at the hands of the thief.

I see from small and great much cunning, guile and trickery.

I find the condition of the Indian ruined ; I see the oppression of Turks and Tartars.

I see the Holy Place fearfully desolated, the abode of a number of evil men.

Some of the trees of the Garden of the World I see springless and fruitless.

If there be a little security, that too I see within the borders of the mountains.

A companion, contentment and a (quiet) corner I now see as most to be desired.

Although I see all these sorrows, I see the (final) joy of the sorrowful.

Grieve not, for in this trouble I see the harvest of union with the friend.

After this year and a few years more I see a world like a (fair) picture.

I behold this world like Egypt ; I see justice as its stronghold.

My king and his ministers are seven ; all of these I see triumphant.

Such as rebel against my immaculate Imām I see ashamed and disgraced.

On the palm of the hand of the Cup-bearer of Unity I see the pleasant wine.

The friendly foe-destroying warrior I see as the comrade and friend of the friend.

I see the swords of those whose hearts are hard as iron rusted, blunt and of no account.

The beauty of the Law and the splendour of Islam, each one I see doubled.

I see the wolf and the sheep, the lion and the gazelle, dwelling together in the meadow.

I see the treasure of Chosroes and the coin of Alexander all put to good use.

I see the roguish Turk drunk, I see his enemy with the headache born of wine.

I see Ni'matu'llāh seated in a corner apart from all.
When the fifth winter has passed I see in the sixth a pleasant spring.
The vicar of the Mahdī will appear, yea, I see him plainly.
I see a king perfect in knowledge ; I see a leader endowed with dignity.
I see the servants of His High Majesty all wearing crowns.
For forty years, O my brother, I see the cycle of that Prince continue.
When his cycle ends victoriously, I see his son as a memorial of him.
I see a king perfect in knowledge, a ruler of noble family.
After him will be the Imām himself, whom I see as the pivot of the world.
I read '*M. H. M. D.*': I see the name of that famous one.
I see his aspect and attributes like the Prophet: I see knowledge and clemency as his distinctive signs.
I see again 'the White Hand' (long may it endure!) conjoined with Dhu'l-Fiqār.
I see the Mahdī of the time and the Jesus of the age both royally riding forth.
I smell the rose-garden of the Law, I see the flowers of Religion in blossom."

This poem, which has excited a great deal of interest through the ages, varies widely in size, contents and the very arrangement of the verses. It may be remarked that the printed edition of the *Dīvān*, does not contain the poem. While the late Prof. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia* has given fifty verses (as quoted above), Riẓā-qulī Khān Hidāyat, gives in his *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* only twenty-four. The widely differing variants in the first hemistich of the fourth verse, as given in the foot-note thereto, leave the reader in utter confusion.

The poem which, perhaps, was the poet's spontaneous outburst of expression, resulting from the despondency and frustration caused by the atrocities and high-handedness of Tīmūr (b. A. H. 736/A.D. 1335, d. A. H. 807/A.D. 1405), has undergone tremendous changes with later accretions made with motives—political, religious and at times, commercial. Persons aspiring to political power or apostolic leadership have often sought to establish their position through this messianic poem, very likely, altered and augmented to suit their requirements. The poem has always been in great demand amongst people anxiously waiting for the return of the God-guided one *al-Mahdi*, the twelfth Imām who would sweep away the powers of evil and usher in a Golden Age of justice and truth such as the world has never seen. The thirty-ninth verse seems to be the closing line of the poem, as poets generally use their pen-names in the last verse of their poems.

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's qaṣīdas, ghazals, masnavīs, qiṭ'as and rubā'īs are religious, devotional, pantheistic and prophetic. Among them there are many

poems which have personal references regarding his geneology, discipleship, etc. The following lines have been selected from his dīvān and other works as specimens of his poetry:

قصیده

در دوعالم چون یکی دارندهٔ اشیاستی * هریکی در ذات خود یکتای بی همتاستی
جنبش دریا اگرچه موج خوانندش ولی * در حقیقت موج دریا عین آن دریاستی
فی المثل یک دائره این شکل عالم فرض کن * حق محیط و نقطه روح و دایره اشیاستی

غزلیات

در سراپردهٔ جان خانهٔ دلدار منست * گوشهٔ خاطر من خلوت آن یار منست
تاکه از نور جمالش نظرم روشن شد * هرکرا هست نظر عاشق دیدار منست
هرکجا ناله ازغیب بگوش تو رسد * ذوق آن ناله ز من جوکه زگفتار منست
برو ای عقل که من مستم و تو مخموری * هرکه مخموری بود همچو تو اغیار منست
زاهدی کار من رند نباشد حاشا * عاشقی پیشهٔ من باده کشی کار منست

* * *

هر کس بآرزوی خیالیست درجهان * مائیم و آرزوی خیال جمال دوست
مارا کمال نیست بخود ای عزیز ما * داریم ما کمال ولی از کمال دوست

* * *

گفتم میان او بکنار آورم و لیک * ازبسکه نازکست میانش پدید نیست
مجموع کائنات سراپردهٔ ویند * وین طرفه بین که هیچ مکانش پدید نیست

* * *

صبری کنیم تا ستم او چه میکند * باین دل شکسته غم او چه میکند
هرکس علاج درد دلی میکنند و ما * دم درکشیده تا کرم او چه میکند

* * *

دولت عشق بهر بی سر و پائی نرسد * پادشائی دو عالم بگدائی نرسد
نرسد در حرم کعبه وصل محبوب * هر محبی که بدو رنج و بلائی نرسد

* * *

نقش خیال رویش دیشب بخواب دیدم * مهرا بشب توان دید من آفتاب دیدم
گنجی که بود پنهان پیدا شداست بر من * سریکه درحجاب است من بیحجاب دیدم

مدتي شد كه بجان با تو در آميخته‌ايم * در سر زلف دلاويز تو آويخته ايم
جوي آبي كه روان در نظرت ميگذرد * آب چشم است كه ما در گذرت ريخته‌ايم

* * *

ما خاك راه را بنظر كيميا كنيم * صد درد را بگوشهٔ چشمي دوا كنيم
رندان لا ابالی و مستان سر خوشيم * هشيار را بمجلس خود كی رها كنيم

رباعيات

اي آنكه طلبكار جهان جانی * جانی و دلی و بلكه خود جانانی
مطلوب توئی طلب توئی طالب تو * درياب كه خود هر آنچه جوئي آني

* * *

ما عاشق رنديم ز طامات مپرس * از ما بجز اسرار خرابات مپرس
از زاهد هشيار كرامات طلب * مستيم ز ما كشف و كرامات مپرس

* * *

كو دل كه بداند نفسی اسرارش * كو گوش كه بشنود دمی گفتارش
محبوب جمال می نمايد شب و روز * كو ديده كه تا برخورد از ديدارش

* * *

آبست كه در شيشه شرابش خوانند * با گل چو قرين شود گلابش خوانند
از قيد گل و مل چو مجرد گردد * اهل بصر بصيرت آبش خوانند

* * *

بوئی كه تو از مشك و قرنفل شنوي * از دولت آن زلف چو سنبل شنوي
چون نغمهٔ بلبل ز پی گل شنوي * گل گفته بود گرچه ز بلبل شنوي

* * *

چشمت همه نرگس است و نرگس همه خراب * لعلت همه آتش است و آتش همه آب
رويت همه لاله است و لاله همه رنگ * زلفت همه سنبلست و سنبل همه تاب

* * *

گنجينهٔ گنج پادشاهی دل تست * وآن مظهر الطاف الهی دل تست
مجموعهٔ مجموع كمالات وجود * از دل بطلب كه هرچه خواهی دل تست

* * *

تا جامع اسرار الهی نشوي * شايستهٔ تخت پادشاهی نشوي
تا غرقهٔ دريا نشوي همچون ما * دانندهٔ حال ما كماهی نشوي

گم کردن و یافتن همه کردن تست * گر باطل و گر حق همه پروردن تست
گوئی صنم گمشده را یافته ام * این یافتن تو عین گم کردن تست

* * *

دانستن علم دین شریعت باشد * چون در عمل آوری طریقت باشد
گر علم و عمل جمع کنی با اخلاص * از بهر رضاي حق حقيقت باشد

* * *

رند آن باشد که میل هستی نکند * وز خویش گذشته خود پرستی نکند
درکوی خرابات مغان رندانه * می نوش کند مدام و مستی نکند

* * *

دل مغز حقیقت است و تن پوست ببین * در کسوت روح صورت دوست ببین
هر ذرهٔ که او نشان هستی دارد * یا پرتو نور اوست یا اوست ببین

He died in Māhān, near Kirmān on the 22nd Rajab, 834 (5th of April, 1431) and his mausoleum has become a resort of pilgrims.

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DOCUMENTS

I

The Iranian Prime Minister's reply to the Joint Message by Mr. Churchill and President Truman of August 30, 1952, on the oil question.

His Excellency,
Mr. Winston Churchill,
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Your Excellency's message, which was received in the form of a proposal for the solution of the oil problem and the settlement of the dispute between the former Company and the Iranian Government, has been carefully considered and examined. Although one would have thought that after having spent a year and a half the British Government should have appreciated the real meaning of the national movement of Iran, and should have ceased giving improper protection to the former Company, unfortunately, contrary to expectations, the effort, which ever since the approval of the law nationalising the oil industry of Iran, has been made by the former Company to revive the invalid 1933 Agreement, is plainly noticeable and obvious in the latest message in changed terms of phraseology. Since it was certain that such a proposal would never be accepted nor approved by the Iranian nation, I pointed out immediately to your Government's Charge d'Affaires that if there was desired a solution of the oil problem, it would be better if this proposal was withdrawn and drafted in such way that it could be presented to Iranian public opinion and could be used as a basis for future negotiations. This request had no result and after a few days, that is on Shahrivar 8, 1331 (August 20, 1952), the message was delivered to me without any change whatsoever.

Before proceeding with the transmission of a counter-proposal I find it necessary to explain briefly the position of the Iranian Government in regard to the message.

The said message, like previous proposals, is inconsistent with the laws of nationalisation of the oil industry. Of course, whatever has been mentioned in the beginning of the message concerning the creation of friendly relations for the early solution of the dispute between the two countries is in conformity with the wishes and aspirations of the Iranian nation which has always endeavoured and is still endeavouring to strengthen friendly relations with the British people notwithstanding the heavy damages and interminable injuries that it has suffered during recent centuries from the imperialistic policy of the British Government. My Government as shown by documents and other proofs has from the very beginning not neglected this matter in any way whatsoever, and has always been prepared to negotiate within the limits of legal principles for the settlement and solution of the

oil problem. The failure to achieve any result up to this time has been due to the fact that the British Government has desired to retain the influence of the former Company under other titles in the same shape and form as before, in violation of the law and of the rights and desires of the Iranian nation. This has been and still is intolerable to the Iranian nation.

Another point worthy of attention in this message is the word "equitable" which has been included therein and the solution which has been proposed following this word, which solution is not only inequitable but far more inequitable than previous solutions and proposals.

In its latest message the British Government has wanted to convert the oil question, which is an internal affair and which has been confirmed as such by the decision of The Hague Court into a dispute between two Governments through the signing of an agreement.

Article I of the Annexe to the message speaks of compensation which should be paid to the former Company for the nationalisation of the oil industry. This article has been drawn up in such a manner that it is feared that it is desired thereby to legalise the invalid 1933 Agreement which has never been acceptable to the Iranian people because reference has been made therein to the legal position of both parties immediately prior to the nationalisation of the oil industry. If it were intended that compensation for the property of the former oil Company in Iran should be paid, my Government has always been prepared to enter into negotiations with due regard to the claims of both parties and to find a just and equitable solution. If it were meant that, in the event of disagreement the question should be referred to the International Court of Justice, such procedure should be agreed to between the Iranian Government and the former oil Company and there would be no need of an agreement between two governments.

If by Articles II of the Annexe the purchase of oil is intended, the Iranian Government has always been prepared to sell and has repeatedly declared this to the world. If, however, it is intended that a purchase monopoly be given to a specific company and interference in the management of the oil industry be renewed, this will never be approved by the Iranian nation, for, as a result of such monopoly and interference, economic crises and obstacles might be created which would lead to the situation which existed before the nationalisation of the oil industry.

It is in fact admitted in Article III that the British Government's motive in its previous measures was to bring economic pressure on the Iranian nation in order that the latter should submit to the unfair terms of that Government. In paragraph A of this Article it is stated that if the other terms are accepted they would be prepared to move the oil stored at Abadan but nothing is said about the price, the fixing of which is postponed until subsequent agreement is reached. If the object of this were to aid and assist they should have specified their views about the price as well, in order that the Iranian Government would be able to make a definite decision.

In paragraph B of this Article mention is made of existing restrictions on exports of commodities and the use of sterling funds by Iran which have repeatedly been the subject of protests by the Iranian Government. It has been expressly admitted that such restrictions which have been imposed until now do exist, and it has been promised that in the event the other terms are acceped these restrictions will be removed. Contrary to what has been claimed in the message it is neither friendly nor equitable to make the removal of illegal restrictions contingent upon the acceptance of certain terms ; furthermore, the restrictions by the British Government directed against the Iranian Government and nation are not confined to these two instances.

After having stated briefly the objections of the Iranian Government I wish to inform Your Excellency that the Iranian people after suffering interminable hardships have unanimously nationalised the oil industry in the country, a right which is within the province of any nation in respect of its sovereignty. It had two motives in taking this action, namely:

1. To eradicate foreign influence and agents in the country and thus take charge of its own destiny and insure the political independence of the country while cooperating shoulder to shoulder with the other freedom-loving nations in maintaining world peace. During the half century of the former Company's domination it has never been possible for the Iranian Governments to make a free decision in its internal affairs and its foreign policy. Your Excellency having been at the head of the British Government over a long period of years is of course aware, as was once expressly admitted by His Excellency Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary in your Cabinet, after the cruel occupation of Iran during the last World War, that the attitude of the British Government towards Iran was not just and should be changed and that England must win over the public opinion of the Iranian nation and take useful and effective steps to make up for the past. Unfortunately, however, this promise was never kept and no sign of a change in the British attitude became apparent and, as soon as signs of the awakening of the Iranian nation were noticed, British capitalists persuaded the British Government to employ all kinds of pressure so that the Iranian nation should never be able to check their covetous aims. Consequently, after the Iranian nation decided to nationalise the oil industry the British Government, instead of appreciating the true desires of the Iranian people, against principles, intervened in the dispute and gave protection to the former Company, doing everything it could to put obstacles and difficulties in the way of the carrying out of the desires of the Iranian people. It wrongfully dragged the case before the Security Council and from there to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, and now that it has been proved in both places that the Iranian nation is justified, it is not prepared to abandon its old attitude in order that an agreement may be reached between the former Company and the Iranian Government for the settlement of the dispute.

2. The Iranian nation's other motive in taking this action was to

improve economic conditions because during the period when the former Company was engaged in exploiting the resources of Iran, it was never prepared to consider and observe the rights of the Iranian nation, even in conformity with the D'Arcy concession and the invalid 1933 Agreement. During this time the taxes which the Company paid to the British Government and which were wrongfully assessed on the dividends accruing to the Iranian Government, were several times the income paid to the original owners of the oil, i.e., the Iranian nation. It is surprising that, in spite of its participation in the profits, the Iranian nation was never able to ascertain the quantity of oil which the British Admiralty had obtained from the Company, nor the amount of money which had been paid.

By nationalising the oil industry the Iranian people wanted to take for themselves the maximum profits made from their resources by a foreign company over a long period of years and by making up for the past injustices and by recouping their losses to make every effort to provide for the welfare of a people, 90% of whom are deprived of all the advantages of life in human society.

In the present circumstances the Iranian nation has to follow one of two roads ; either it must endeavour to improve the social conditions and ameliorate the situation of the deprived classes, something that would be impossible without the income from oil, or, if this road should remain blocked, it should surrender itself to probable future events which would be to the detriment of world peace.

I have repeatedly stated and I explicitly declare once more that the Iranian Government is exceedingly eager that the existing differences be removed as soon as possible in order that the two nations may, as a result of a good understanding, enjoy the results of cooperation and mutual assistance, and fulfill their duty for the preservation of world peace in the best manner.

With reference to the above I bring the following to Your Excellency's attention. Iranian courts are the only competent channel for investigating the former Company's claims and are prepared to adjudicate them. but should the Company not wish to refer its claims to the above-mentioned competent authorities and should the International Court of Justice at The Hague be able to deal with the dispute between the Iranian Government and the former oil Company on the basis of an agreement between the two parties, and should there be no illusion that such action recognises the existence of a dispute between two governments, my government, in order to show its complete good will, after agreement on the four articles below is prepared to agree to the judgment of the International Court, and in this case the International Court will be requested to issue its final verdict as soon and as far as possible within six months.

Article 1. *Compensation.* Determination of the amount of compensation to be paid for property belonging to the former oil Company at the time of the nationalisation of the oil industry in Iran and arrangements for

paying this by instalments based on any law carried out by any country for nationalising its industries in similar instances which may be agreed to by the former oil Company.

This is the only compensation which the Iranian Government will pay to the former Company and the Company will have no right to claim any further compensation whatsoever.

Article 2. *Basis of Examination of Claims.* Examination of claims of both parties on the basis of one of the following three provisions to be recognised by the International Court of Justice as fair and just for settling the parties' claim and used by it as the basis for judgment.

A. Examination of claims of the two parties up to the date of nationalisation of the oil industry on the basis of the D'Arcy Agreement with due regard to the calculation of income tax which the Iranian Government should have received in accordance with the country's enacted laws.

The above-mentioned Agreement is referred to only for the purpose of settling the financial differences up to the date of the nationalisation of the oil industry (9th of Ordibehesht 1330 which is equivalent to the 30th of April 1951). As from that date this Agreement ceases to apply and can in no way be used or invoked by either of the parties, and from that date the Company has been acting as a trustee.

B. Examination of claims of both parties from 1933 to the end of 1947 on the basis of the invalid 1933 Agreement and from the beginning of 1948 to the 30th of April 1951 on the basis of the above-mentioned invalid Agreement and the Gass-Golshayan Supplementary Draft Agreement, which was agreed to and signed by the former Company but which both Houses of the Iranian Parliament did not consider adequate for obtaining the Iranian nation's rights.

Reference to the 1933 Agreement is solely and exclusively for the purpose of solving financial differences between the parties up to the end of 1947 and the above-mentioned invalid Agreement, with the addition of the Gass-Golshayan Supplementary Draft Agreement, is solely and exclusively for solving financial differences from the beginning of 1948 to the 30th of April 1951. All effects of the Agreements cease from the date of nationalisation of the oil industry and cannot be used or invoked in any way by either of the parties and from that date the company has been acting as a trustee.

C. Examination of the claims of both parties on the basis of the fairest concession agreements of other oil producing countries in the world, where the cost of producing oil, according to that concession, is not cheaper than the cost of producing Iranian oil during a corresponding period. Obviously, from the date of nationalisation of the oil industry the company is acting as a trusee.

There is no need to mention that the use of any of the three above-mentioned provisions as a basis is merely in order to calculate the financial claims of the parties, up to the date of the nationalisation of the oil industry

and has no connection with the articles of the above-mentioned Agreements which refer to the investigation of differences. The claims of both parties as specified above should be judged directly by the International Court of Justice.

3. *Determination of Damages.* Examination and determination of the amount of damages caused to the Iranian Government resulting from the difficulties and obstacles put in the way of the sale of Iranian oil by direct and indirect activities of the former oil Company as well as losses resulting from the delay in payment of funds, which are definitely debts owed by the Company.

4. *Payment in Advance and on Account.* Payment in advance and on account of 49 million pounds shown on the former oil Company's balance sheet for 1950 as increases in royalty, taxes and dividends due to Iran from the reserves.

From this amount any part due from royalty and tax, as it was guaranteed on a gold basis, must be paid in sterling convertible into dollars.

Although the said amount is indisputably owing to the Iranian Government by the Company, in order to show its utmost good will the Iranian Government agrees that if the International Court of Justice does not consider Iran entitled to all this amount or any part of it, sums received in this connection will be regarded as the Iranian Goverment's debt to the former oil Company and will be settled without delay by delivery of oil.

Reference to the judgment of the International Court of Justice on the basis of the four articles mentioned above, which is a sign of extraordinary concessions on the part of the Iranian Government, is binding on the latter only when they are accepted in their entirety. None of these articles can be invoked separately.

Of course, the Iranian Government will take up through the International Court of Justice as a case between two Governments, the question of losses caused by various difficulties and obstacles created by the British Government in their attempt to support the former Company, as well as losses resulting from restrictions imposed on exports to Iran and on the use of sterling which the British Government has acknowledged in sub-paragraph B of Article 3 of the annexe to the joint message.

This proposal is valid for 10 days from the date of delivery. In conclusion I bring to Your Excellency's attention the fact that the National Iranian Oil Company is always prepared to sell its oil products.

Sd/-Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, Tehran, 2 Mehr 1331. (24. 9. 52)

II

Full Text of Dr. Mossadegh's Message to the British Nation.

Tehran, 30/10/52

DEAR MR. MIDDLETON,

Now that you and your colleagues are home bound and your sojourn in Iran is a matter of days, I would like to send through you a message to your countrymen, with the hope that they may become acquainted with the facts as they stand, that in the course of our campaign of the last eighteen months the Iranians have constantly endeavoured to employ all the means in their power to prevent any flaw from appearing in the friendly relations of long duration between the two nations. It is with this hope and expectation that I would like to present in a summary form the facts concerning the developments of the last nineteen months in Iran, which have, undoubtedly, been concealed from the British people by the activities of the former Company. My Government also did its best to find an equitable solution for the oil dispute through amicable negotiations ; so as to remove the clouds of suspicion and pessimism—which have darkened the horizon of the relations between the two States, created for so many years through the covetousness of a profit seeking company—and make prevalent an atmosphere of mutual confidence and concurrent sincerity and open a new chapter in the diplomatic relations of Iran and the United Kingdom.

The valuable time which, of necessity, must have been employed for the introduction of internal reforms was wasted by the continuation of futile negotiations with various missions and the exchange of notes during the last nineteen months. However, it brought about this result that when, to our great regret, the diplomatic relations between the two States have reached the present stage, the Government and the people of Iran can easily demonstrate to the world that from the very beginning they have been desiring with utmost goodwill to come to a settlement of the oil dispute, and that they have spared no efforts in the fulfilment of this object. While on the contrary, the covetous company, which was conscious of the fact that it enjoyed full protection of the British Government as far as its illegal expectations and desires were concerned, took resort to threats and "Philippics" and brought the dispute before international tribunals which were not regarded as competent to give it a hearing. Furthermore, following a policy of procrastination to derive a benefit from the time element in preparing the ground for collapse of the Iranian people, it deliberately caused the failure of the various oil missions ; and with false propaganda, financed out of the pillage of the resources of the poor Iranians, it spread the rumours, even in the remotest parts of the world, that the Government and people of Iran are not prepared to arrive at a settlement of the oil dispute. This undesirable policy, on the part of the former Company, was continued ; and the United Kingdom Government went to such extremes in extending their protection to the fictitious and illegitimate claims of the former Company that all the principles of amicable relations were put aside on the shelf of oblivion ; and

through taking resort to internal intrigues and machinations supplemented by financial pressures and unreasonable economic restrictions left no one in doubt that the principles of amicable relations which ought to thrive amongst the various members of the United Nations Organisation were ignored and trampled by the United Kingdom Government through "economic punishment of its own creation". While the Iranian Government bore stoically this aggression upon its rights for months without showing any reaction.

It is needless to point out to those who are acquainted with the story of this adventure that the British Government established a dictatorial regime in Iran for the sole purpose of safeguarding its illegitimate interests. The second step taken by the British Government was to impose a new Agreement in 1933 upon the Iranian people through the instrumentality of the regime of its own creation, while invoking the original D'Arcy Concession which had never received the sanction of the Iranian Parliament. Besides its potential economic defects which were detrimental to our interests the imposed 1933 Agreement endangered our political integrity and independence by allowing the former Company to unduly interfere in our social and political affairs.

During the fifty years of operation in Iran the former Company, while exploiting our oil resources which have meant to it revenues amounting to hundreds of millions of pounds, has not even acted for a single day as a commercial enterprise free from politics ; but, on the contrary, it has had a finger in every pie of corruption which we have witnessed in Iran during the last fifty years.

Taking the recent world developments in due consideration as regards the self-determinations of nations, the Iranians could no longer tolerate the behaviour of the former Company ; and the best interests of the nation demanded an immediate change of the situation which manifested itself through the nationalisation of the oil industry throughout the country. In other words, the Iranians availed themselves of the birth right of any free and independent nation. Many other countries and particularly the United Kingdom have availed themselves of the right to nationalise their industries.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Iranian Government were within their established rights to nationalise the oil industry, yet the United Kingdom Government from the outset took measures, inside and outside of Iran, meant for the protection of the unlawful interests of the former Company, which were contrary to the spirit of friendship between the two Governments. Subsequent to the very rigid and unlawful fight against our national sentiments and aspirations, they finally had no alternative but to recognise the undeniable right of the Iranian nation to nationalise their oil industry. The Iranians consequently expected the British Government to abide by its recognition of the principle of nationalisation and act accordingly. The Iranian Government also did its best to take into consideration the British interests in so far as they were not in contrast with the provisions of the

Oil Nationalisation Law, and bestowed great effort to demonstrate their goodwill. For example, we were prepared to allow the former Company to export any amount of oil it desired against receipts for what were to be shipped, the price of which to be taken into account when the compensation claims were to be settled. But the former Company did not show any willingness to agree to this proposal. The second proposal which was made by the Iranian Government to the former Company, relative to the continuation of services of its technical staff according to their existing contracts, was also rejected. Since the British technical staff were not willing to work for the Iranian National Oil Company, the Iranian Government could not pay them their salary and hence their dismissal was forced upon us by the circumstances.

The British Government transformed the dispute between the former Oil Company and the Iranian Government into an inter-state dispute ; and a case which logically should have received a hearing in the Iranian Tribunals was brought before the Security Council. Having faced disappointment the British Government referred the case to the International Court of Justice ; but there also no positive result was obtained and even the British Member of the Court, Sir Arnold Duncan MacNair, also took sides with Iran. At this juncture I deem it necessary to thank him for his fairness and impartiality.

The former Company not being convinced with the decision of the International Court of Justice filed a plea with the said Court to appoint an arbitrator, but again the reply was in the negative.

It was our expectation that the British Government after so many unfriendly actions would change its policy towards Iran, but, to our regret, it pursued the same course.

In order to settle the differences, the Iranian Government showed its readiness to pay compensation to the former Company in accordance with nationalisation laws enacted in Great Britain or according to laws of any country which the former Company may prefer to choose ; and in order to show its utmost goodwill the Iranian Gvernment, as an exception, refrained from referring the said case to the Iranian Tribunals which were the only competent counts to deal with it and agreed to submit the case to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. This proposal was also rejected. Finally, the Iranian Government requested an advance payment of 20,000,000 pounds (gold guaranteed and convertible into dollars) out of the 49,000,000 pounds which the former Company incontestably owes Iran according to its own published Balance Sheets ; so that the existing economic tension in Iran may be somewhat ameliorated ; but this proposal was also rejected.

It may be explained that the twenty million pounds the immediate payment of which has been requested is part of the share of the Government of Iran from the general reserve fund of the former Company, according to the 1951 Balance Sheet, amounted to 110,500,000 pounds, of which

81,000,000 pounds are credited to general reserve funds and the remaining 29,500,000 pounds, have been included in the 49,500,000 pounds. Therefore the twenty percent Iranian share, on the basis of the imposed 1933 Agreement, from the total of 110,500,000 pounds of general reserve fund amount to 22,100,000 pounds which is immediately due on account of the nationalisation of the Oil Industry. From this total 20 million pounds have been requested on account.

Meanwhile, as mentioned above, the British Government, besides raising other difficulties, did not refrain from supporting the unlawful interests of the former Oil Company by bringing financial and economic pressure on the people of Iran, through prevention of the sale of Iranian oil in world markets and even by refusing to release Iranian sterling holdings in British Banks.

Finally, in the note sent by H. E. Anthony Eden, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on October 14, 1952, to me in reply to the proposals of the Iranian Government, the intention of your Government were disclosed.

It was made clear that the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs demanded compensation for profits that would have accrued to the former Company, had the Company continued its activities of plundering the wealth of this country.

Industries are nationalised, evidently, to remove private profiteering and to pass on the proceeds of nationalisation, exclusively, to the public treasury. The British Government, according to the latest note, intends clearly to revive the 1933 Agreement in another form, for, instead of limiting their compensation claims to the properties and installations of the former Company in Iran, they demanded such payment of compensation as would cover all unlawful profits supposed to ensure from that Agreement.

The receipt of this recent note left no doubt in the minds of impartial observers that the British Government, besides unfriendly measures so far taken, do not wish to revise their policy in the smallest degree, but wish to carry on their unfriendly policy contrary to the aspirations of the two nations.

These steps compelled the Government of Iran to sever diplomatic relations with the British Government, and to leave the resumption of relations to such time as the British Government may care to revise their policy, with regard to world developments and the awakening of the people of Iran and with due consideration for the principles of justice and equity.

The Iranian Government explicitly declares that sincere and friendly relations between the people of Iran and Great Britain shall continue to stand on their firm foundations. For ths reason now that the last members of the diplomatic staff of the British Empire are leaving the Iranian capital no difficulties are created for British nationals ; whether merchants or travellers.

I am sure if some day the books and records of the former Oil Company are opened before the eyes of the truth-loving people of Great Britain and

they are given opportunity to see the interferences, injustice, intrigues, political manoeuvres, and plundrous activities of the former Company, they will not doubt admire the patience and fortitude of our people. But the black curtain of unjust propaganda that the former Company carries on in Great Britain and elsewhere prevents the spread of truth, and this has once more proved that the power of money still mocks truth and justice in the twentieth century. But our people shall continue their manly struggle until the majority of the people of Great Britain shall arrive at the impartial judgment of Sir Arnold Duncan MacNair and shall hear and read lines from what he read and heard.

BOOK REVIEW

The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra (A philosophical Study of the Gathas of Zarathushtra, containing the Text with literal translation into English, a free English rendering and full critical and grammatical Notes, Metrical Index and Glossary) by Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala: Bombay, 1951, pp. xvii—1166 (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co.). Price Rs. 25/-

THIS voluminous work can be really styled 'a summary Encyclopedia of the Gathas'. It is not only an encyclopedia on the religion and the ethics of the Gathas but also on their language, syntax and text-criticism. The author has devoted 25 years to complete this work and this labour of love has produced a monument of painstaking scholarship and scholarly devotion.

The Gathas of Zarathushtra are the very foundation of His Faith and embody very high ethical and moral precepts. In the introduction to his 'Trois Conferences sur les Gathas de l'Avesta' Prof. A. Meillet recalls the theory of Prof. Darmesteter that the Gathas are texts of a very late date, later than the date fixed by other eminent Avestan Scholars, and states correctly that they stand isolated in the rest of the Avestan Literature on account of their linguistic character and unusual words of unknown signification dispersed through them. He admits that nearly all strophes of the Gathas offer an uninterrupted lucid explanation, as Prof. Christian Bartholomae remarks in this 'Die Gathas des Avesta, Zarathushtras Verspredigen' (1905). Upto the present day Prof. Bartholomae's translation has remained the standard work on the study of the Gathas.

Broadly speaking the Avesta falls into two quite unequal parts, sharply contrasted as regards their matter as well as their form; and they can be clearly distinguished as the older part. This shorter older part, characterised by the great antiquity of its linguistic garb comprises the 17 so-called *Gathas,* literally poems or songs, in reality sermons in metrical form, or rather extracts from sermons which for convenience of memorising have been thrown into different rhythmic forms, as Prof. Bartholomae has mentioned in his 'Zarathushtras Leben und Lehre'. Prof. Meillet thinks that still much remains to be done to determine exactly their history, their literary character and their religious significance. And this gap has been filled up now by Prof. Taraporewala in this monumental work, 'The Divine Songs of Zarathushtra'. It will remain the standard work for scholars as well as for laymen for generations.

Western scholars, such as Bartholomae, Spiegel, Geldner, Andreas, Wackernagel, Lommel, Jackson, Moulton, Meillet, Mills, Nyberg, Bailey, Duchesne-Guillemin, Maria W. Smith, have given us various translations of the Gathas in several European languages—German, French, English,

Swedish. We have also translations into Gujarati by Ervad Kavasji Kanga and into Persian by Prof. Poure Davoud based upon those of these Western Scholars. Although these translators were all profound scholars and excellent philologists, their renderings evoke in our minds admiration and wonder, but they fail to inspire us, and this inspiration which forms the fundamental characteristic of the Gathas is clearly noticeable in the scholarly and learned translation of Dr. Taraporewala, who has had the good fortune of learning Avesta from Prof. Christian Bartholomae, the greatest German Iranist of his time.

Prof. Taraporewala is a distinguished Avesta scholar who has faithfully translated the Gathas of Zarathushtra from the original Avestan Text and has made it available to scholars and the general public. He has pursued the academic life as student, professor and research scholar continuously since the turn of the century. In 1903 he won his B.A. at the University of Bombay; from 1904 to 1909 he studied in London and was called to the Bar there at Gray's Inn. He was awarded the Government of India Sanskrit scholarship in 1911, which brought him to the University of Cambridge and then to Germany where he later won his Ph.D. degree at the University of Würzburg; during this period he conferred with many of the leading European scholars on matters of Philology and ancient literatures. After a period of teaching in Banaras he became in 1917 Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Calcutta. In 1930 and for ten years following he was Principal of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute at Andheri, Bombay; and the next two years he was Director of the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona until his retirement in 1942. He has published more than sixty papers and books which deal with a variety of subjects from Indian Ideals of Education, the Parsis, Sanskrit Grammar and Philology to his last work on "the Divine Songs of Zarathushtra."

Professor Taraporewala has gone through various versions made by many scholars, and he has also read the translation of a few chapters (Hās) of the Gathas by Professors Andreas and Wackernagel in the "Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen" (1909, 1911, 1913). This translation of Prof. Andreas agrees more or less with that of Prof. Bartholomae, but there are plenty of queries about words whose interpretations have not quite satisfied the Professor. The author of "the Divine Songs of Zarathushtra" is too well known to need introduction to the public. He has had many years' experience as Professor of Iranian studies and in consequence his treatment of the subject is lucid and thoroughly intelligible. A general reader wishing to make his first acquintance with the varied treasures of Iranian lore may also profitably peruse this book. Prof. Taraporewala is to be unreservedly felicitated and congratulated for his fine exposition of the Gathas, which upto now have seemed shrouded in mystery. The text is given stanza by stanza with an ingenious system of word numeration that permits even a novice to check the translation and to criticise its value. An English rendering of

the German translation by his *guru*, Bartholomae, is also given, which adds to the usefulness and importance of the work. In his translation Prof. Taraporewala has rigidly followed a fundamental principle which other scholars have ignored viz., "a unit of versification is also a unit of verse" The author says in his Introduction that the words must bear the significance they had in those days. "It follows naturally that these ancient words must be made to bear the highest spiritual connotation they are capable of bearing." On this standpoint Prof. Taraporewala has not always quoted the Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions of the Gathas, keeping before his eyes the judgment which Prof. Hübschmann passed upon the value of the Pahlavi version in his 'Avestische Studien'. "Die Ausbeute wird freilich eine verschiedene sein ; reich für den Vendidad, befriedigend für den jüngeren Yasna, aber dürftig für die Gathas", i.e., the gain will of course be various; abundant for the Vendidad, satisfactory for the later Yasna, but scanty for the Gathas. These Pahlavi and Sanskrit versions had been done at a time when the language of the Avesta had become almost dead and the knowledge of the sacred texts was on its decline. Despite this I suggest the author should have given the Pahlavi version in case of some obscure and difficult words to show how far the Pahlavi version represents the true interpretation of the Avesta.

Dr. Taraporewala is unassuming and versatile like his teacher. The author has followed the standard text of Geldner, but has given the text after making changes and alterations in this text from the standpoint of metre. In Appendix 4 (pp. 918-935) he has given a list of the variants introduced by him in Geldner's text and his reasons for doing so. These frequent changes made in the text may not have appealed to some Parsi scholars, but they have been due to metre and syntax and text criticism. In a few cases (e.g., Ha 31.16) the author has inserted the word *vīso* meaning town which is missing in the original text (p. 339). Not only that, but in one case (Yas. 46.15, p. 623) the author has ventured to insert one whole line in the extant text of the Gathas, viz., *vīspā tā yā vo srūidyāi vahištā*. This clearly shows and proves that the author of this complete edition of the Gathas has considered and weighed each word of the text carefully and critically and every point of grammar and construction has been examined in detail in the scholarly and exhaustive notes. The author has given his renderings of the Gathas in simple and readable and at the same time lucid and thoroughly intelligible language which appeals to the heart and the head of the general reader. The philological and learned discussions will prove greatly useful to the student and scholar of Iranian studies. His book "Selections from Avesta and Old Persian" published in 1922, had impressed this reviewer deeply and from it he had derived great inspiration and enthusiasm for Avesta studies.

In the exhaustive and scholarly Introduction (pp. xii-xiii) Prof. Taraporewala has enumerated the main principles which have guided him in the work of translation and interpretation of the Message of Zarathushtra. It is

needless to mention here that no Iranist will have any hesitation in accepting these principles which are briefly quoted below:

(*i*) The Gathas must be understood by themselves and in the light of their own contents. Hence it would not be proper to take a Gatha word in the sense it acquired in later Zoroastrian literature and in the Pahlavi version. This principle might be fully agreed to and adopted.

(*ii*) Vedic Literature is nearest to the Gathas, both in language and in spirit; hence the author, being a Vedic scholar too, has compared carefully Vedic words and idioms and ideas. This principle is partly correct. The linguistic relation is wellknown and so the words and idioms of the Rigveda may be compared, but hardly the ideas, the spirit of the Vedas, however is different.

(*iii*) A unit of verse in the Gathas, as also in the Vedas, is a unit of sense. This principle is rather controversial especially if too rigidly applied. A 'unit of verse may be one *pāda* or may be a two-*pāda* line in particular in the *anustup* type of verse. Often words belonging syntactically together may be found in different lines or *pādas*, no doubt for artistic or stylistic reasons. This is one of the difficulties of the Gathas.

(*iv*) The Gathas are simple and direct in their style and diction and it is the thought which is very deep. This is acceptable.

(*v*) It is the thought of the Gathas which is profound. The unconscious tendency to read into the text the beautiful things that one would like to find there for one's own satisfaction and spiritual comfort, which is known by the term ' subjectivism ' is noticed, in this book and has exerted considerable influence on the author's exposition.

(*vi*) The Gathas are spiritual in the fullest sense of the term. We read in them about 'cattle tending', 'fodder' and 'meadows' just as we read about 'the Good Shepherd' in the Bible or about Sri Krishna 'tending cows' in the Hindu scriptures. Dr. Taraporewala has ably pointed out their significance. Absence of this understanding in the translations so far has done harm to the Composer of the Gathas.

In observing these principles the author has not neglected the linguistic and historical methods of grammar and philosophy as understood by competent authorities in the field of Iranian studies.

In the begining the author has discussed at length the Amesha Spentas, who figure so frequently in the Gathas. Here he differs from the views of Western scholars, who have always regarded these names as 'personified qualities of the Supreme'. According to Prof. Taraporewala they are to be considered as distinct entities, or Beings and they can be best regarded as 'Rays' or Aspects' of the Godhead. He explains *Ahura* as 'Lord of Life' and *Mazdā* as 'Creator of Matter' (see Glossary, p. 1016). Besides he has given

an erudite exposition of 'the Holy Word of the Religion of Zarathushtra'. In this the author has explained the philosophic thoughts underlying the most sacred verse, the Ahuna-Vairya, and the reader will be greatly impressed by the manner in which the author has unravelled the greatest thoughts in the world enshrined in that formula. This, I think, will produce a lasting impression on the minds of the readers.

The Appendices given at the end of this monumental work also show the pains the author has taken and are highly useful to students and scholars alike. The first Appendix (pp. 863—908) deals with the quite original theme of 'Gatha Metre and Metrical Index' wherein the metre used in each Gatha is described and each line is shown—and scanned—in alphabetical order. Prof. Geldner in his standard edition of the Avesta Texts has given brief descriptions of the metres of each of the five Gathas; and he has treated of the metrical system of the Later Avesta fully in his book "Über die Metrik des jüngern Avesta" (Tübingen, 1877), which has remained a standard work for many years. After Geldner we find J. Hertel has dealt with the metrical system of Later Avesta in his book, "Beiträge zur Metrik des Avestas und des Ṛgveda" Leipzig, 1927). And recently Hermann Weller has explained the metre of the Yashts in his work "Anahita, grundlegended zur arischen Metrik" (Stuttgart, 1938). But no scholar has dealt with the theme of Gatha metre so exhaustively and so systematically as Prof. Taraporewala has done The second Appendix deals with "the Family of Zarathushtra". It was published in the New Indian Antiquary (April-June, 1946). This theme is rather polemical. It is not understood why the author has made efforts to turn Zarathushtra into a celibate. The entire atmosphere and tradition of Indo-Iranian culture in its ancient stages and more especially in all the historically known Zoroastrian tradition the trend is definitely against such a conception. Appendix 3 gives a complete list of the mss. cited from the Prolegomena of Geldner's Texts. The fourth Appendix covers 18 pages and in it the author has given a list of the variations introduced by in the text and his reasons for the alterations.

The value of the work is enhanced by the Glossary and the General Index to the volume. Both these will be found to be greatly useful for students and for scholars as well. In the former he has explained every word occuring in the Gathas, and in the latter he has referred to the opinions of the other scholars in the field. For the Gathas the author is and will remain a veritable modern Sāyaṇa (with all the qualities of that encyclopaedic Sanskrit scholar) and this work will constitute a milestone in Gatha studies. At the end is given a Bibliography which is select and satisfactory, though we miss in it references to Prof. Bailey's Yasna 53, contributed to Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi Memorial Volume, M. F. Kanga's Pahlavi version of the Yashts, Prof. Duchesne-Guillemin's "Les Composes de l'avesta et Zoroastre," Fr. Messina's "Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathushtrische Religion" and several other works.

The whole book bears ample testimony to the sound and accurate scholarship and research, critical acumen and painstaking care bestowed by the erudite and distinguished author in the preparation of this fine volume. The book is rightly dedicated by the author to the late K. R. Cama, 'lay Dastur' of the Parsis and the Father of Avestan studies in Bombay.

M. F. Kanga

NEWS

*The celebration of 83rd Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi at the Indian Embassy, Tehran.**

In connection with the 83rd Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi on Thursday, the 2nd October, 1952 (10th Mihr, 1331) Dr. Tara Chand, the Indian Ambassador to Iran gave a party at the Indian Embassy, Tehran. The Ministers, Members of Parliament, University Professors, Journalists and respectable gentlemen with their wives attended the function. Aqa Dihkhuda, a famous writer presided over it. The function was held at his residence at Qulhek.

The proceedings commenced at 5-30 p.m. and in his inaugural address Aqa Dihkhuda speaking about the life and personality of Mahatma Gandhi said:

"Today hundreds of millions of people in India and other countries are celebrating the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, a great man of Asia. Mahatma Gandhi has in himself that presonality and those qualities that even when the greatest speaker speaks about them feels himself in a fix as to where to begin from, and which out of his hundreds of qualities are to be enumerated.

Mahatma Gandhi in the early stages of his struggle asked 450 million people of India to take to the path of righteousness and guided them to truth. This kind of lead may have been easily acceptable to literate and advanced people, but Gandhi was to face those people, who were kept away from civilisation and culture by a foreign rule.

Gandhi was a light, who shed his lustre on a nation, which joined the series of the progressive nations. The pride of India of today is because of the actions of Gandhi yesterday. The river of Indian nation got into spate of glory and grandeur but its fountain head was the revealing efforts of Gandhi.

The school of Gandhi was that of non-violent fighting and co-operation. He said that we should achieve our object by love, which he practised in his own life. He was a leader, who himself first plunged into the struggle he started and then wanted others to follow him. Neither the rigours and tyranny of the foreigners nor the long terms of imprisonment could bend his back or deter him from his determination.

Those who know something about the last few decades of Indian struggle for independence may think that Gandhi fought for the rights of

* The Iran Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of this news item from Mr. Syed Nazir Husain, M.A., First Secretary (Information), Indian Embassy, Tehran.

the Hindus and struggled for them alone, but it is not so. For him, all Indians without distinction of caste, creed, colour or religion were equal. He worked for the emancipation of mankind and not for any particular caste or nation. This was his desire that tears should dry up in every eye, i.e., all people should live happily and prosperously.

We, today with one heart and one voice with thousands of other congregations in the world who are celebrating his birthday in various parts of the globe, pay our homage to the great soul and pray for the Divine Grace to enable us to work in his footsteps."

After Aqa Dihkhuuda, Aqa Sadiq Sarmad, a modern poet of Iran recited the following poem in Persian suitable to the occasion which was very much appreciated by the audience:—

روز گاندي

آنکس قدم بملک وجود از عدم گذاشت　　کز خویشتن بعالم انسان قدم گذاشت
موجود نیست هرکه بصورت وجود یافت　　ای بس که از عدم قدم اندر عدم گذاشت
از عالم حدوث و قدم حق فراتر است　　حق است کو حدیث حدوث و قدم گذاشت
دیر و حرم حریم من و تست ورنه حق　　پا بر فراز گنبد دیر و حرم گذاشت
دنیا نعیم مردم دنیا بود ولیک　　مرد آنکه زین نعیم گذشت و نعم گذاشت
تاریخ صفحه‌ایست که بر لوح عبرتش　　هرکس بقدر معرفت از خود رقم گذاشت
قومی بجمع مال همه نقد عمر باخت　　وز عمر سودش آنکه درم بر درم گذاشت
قومی ببذل مال طریق کرم سپرد　　وز مال حاصلش که نشان کرم گذاشت
این هر دو در غم از پی شادی خود شدند　　این دل اگر بشادی و آن دل بغم گذاشت
مرد خدا ولیک بخیر و صلاح غیر　　افزود بر خلایق و از خویش کم گذاشت
مرد خداي گرچه برون خاست ز امتي　　ننشست تا که سر پی خیر امم گذاشت
برخاست گاندی اگر از خاک پاک هند　　بر بام عالم آمد و از خود علم گذاشت
از اختلاف مشرب و مذهب سخن نراند　　مرهم بزخم مسلم و هندو بهم گذاشت
مغرب بنور فکرت او یافت روشنی　　مشرق بخدمتش در لا و نعم گذاشت
هم یاد خیر در دل ترک و عرب نهاد　　هم نام نیک در همه خاک عجم گذاشت
هم احترام کشور خود برمزید کرد　　هم نام خود چو کشور خود محترم گذاشت
بر احتشام و منزلت هند بر فزود　　گرچه بیادگار نه مال و حشم گذاشت
گرچه نبی نبود ولي در کتاب هند　　آیات فتح از دم معجز شیم گذاشت
هند کهن ز همت او نام تازه کرد　　همت نگر که پای بفرق همم گذاشت
در راه هند گرچه فراوان ستم کشید　　در خاک هند نیروی دفع ستم گذاشت

ی رنجدیده رهبر عالی مقام هند   کایام قسمت تو ز رنج و الم گذاشت
بر هند مولد تو مبارک که مقدمت   برهند تیر روشنی صبحدم گذاشت
درهند مضطرب دم آرام بخش تو   آرامش و سعادت بباغ ارم گذاشت
تا روزگار هند بود روز تست   آنرا که سر بپای صمد یا صنم گذاشت
پیمانهٔ نو پر شد و پیمان تو بسی   باقی به هند همقدم و همقسم گذاشت
جام جهان نما دل مرد جهانی است   جاوید آنکه لب بلب جام جم گذاشت
رمد رقم بنام کسی زن که در جهان   در راه حق قدم زد و برحق قلم گذاشت

The running translation of the poem is given below:

That man who came into being from non-being
And set foot in the world of Human beings.
He who came into being no longer exists.
Moreso from Non-Being he has gone to Non-Being.
The world of God is higher than the physical world
The temple and kaaba are sanctuaries for you and me
Otherwise God is above both.
World is enjoyment for worldly people
But Man is he, who is above this world and its enjoyments
History is a page on the face of which
Everybody scribes according to his knowledge.
A nation stands its lifetime in accumulating wealth
And leaves money—this is the benefit to posterity.
A nation spends wealth in charity
And is hailed as generous by this expense.
Both of the above worry to achieve happiness
One leaves its heart with joy, the other with sorrow.
But Man of God for the good of others
Conserves more people and consumes himself
Man of God though comes from a nation
Conserves more people and consumes himself
He never sits content for the good of some nations.
Though Gandhi rose from the sacred dust of India.
Ascending the roof of the world he fluttered his own flag.
He never talked about differences in religions,
He sympathised with the Hindus and Muslims alike.
West got lustre of the light of his thought.
The Orient with his services got the gates of achievements open.
He left happy memories in the hearts of Turks and Arabs,
And left his good name in the whole of Iran.
He enhanced the prestige of his own country,
And left his own name as honoured as his country,
He added to the dignity and respect of India ;
Though he left no wealth as his memorial.

Though he was not a prophet, but in the Book of India,
With his miraculous breaths, he left the verses of the victory.
Old India, with his magnanimity, has achieved fresh name.
Look at his courage! he set foot on the head of bravery.
Although for India, he had to suffer many cruelties
In the dust of India he left prowess to ward off tyrannies.
O, you good and great Indian leader, who have suffered a lot,
That your days passed in sorrow and agony,
Your native-country, India is happy that with your advent,
Dark India was favoured with the morning light.
In restless India, your ease-bestowing lite
Has given to her the comforts and good fortune of the paradise.
For him who worships God or idol,
Prosperity of India is solely due to you.
The cup of your life was full, but your teachings are many
Which have been left eternal for India to help her at every step.
The heart of a man of the world is the Jamshid's cup
He is eternal, who has set his lips to that cup.
Sarmad, writes in his name, who in this world,
Set his foot in the path of God and always wrote the truth.

(Translated by Mr. Hiralall Chopra, M.A.)

Then Dr. Tarachand, the Indian Ambassador spoke in Persian about Mahatma Gandhi giving details about the principles of his life and his services to mankind.

After his speech an exhibition, arranged in a double file relating to the life of Mahatma Gandhi and Indian struggle, was shown and the meeting came to a close at 7-5 p.m.

NECROLOGY

With a heavy heart the Iran Society records the sad demise of its devoted Assistant Secretary and one of the Founder-Members in the person of the late Mr. Dinshaw Hormusji Mehta. This melancholy event took place on Tuesday, the 22nd July, 1952 at his Calcutta residence at 1, Madan Street.

Son of a military contractor of Bombay, Mr. D. H. Mehta was born on April 30, 1878 at Navsari, Bombay. He rose from an humble position of life to that a leading merchant and industrialist of this foremost city of India. A self-made man Mr. Mehta trod every inch of the ground and successively occupied the positions of a news reporter in the 'Bombay Samachar,' a leading Gujrati daily, an assistant in the German firm 'Hannaman & Co.' a Sales Manager in the Calcutta branch of the 'Godrej & Co.' and later on an independent businessman having his own cabinet making factory in Calcutta.

Mr. Mehta was for long associated with the Parsi Zoroastrian Association of Calcutta. He was also one of the Senior Masons of Calcutta. He took keen interest in the welfare of the Iran Society since its inception and worked heart and soul for the cause till his death.

He is mourned by his widow daughter and a son and a host of friends and admirers.



The late Mr. Dinshaw Hormusji Mehta
Founder-Member and Assistant Secretary
of the Iran Society

OURSELVES

In connection with the Millenary Celebration of Avicenna it was decided by the Council of the Society to convene a special meeting in honour of that famous scientist and publish a special Avicenna Number of the Indo-Iranica.

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It was tentatively decided to open a 'Persian Section' and a 'Correspondence Section' in the Indo-Iranica with the issue of Vol. VI.

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With a heavy heart the Society reports the sudden death of Mr. Dinshaw Homusji Mehta, its devoted Assistant Secretary and one of the Founder-Members, in his Calcutta residence on Tuesday, the 22nd July, 1952. The late Mr. Mehta took abiding interest in the cause of the Society from its inception and died rather in harness. His manifold qualities of head and heart and his sincere devotion helped him to find a niche of his own in the society rising from a very humble beginning. Our sincerest condolence go to the members of the bereaved family.

* * * *

A part-time General Assistant was appointed to run the office of the Society.

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It was decided to appoint also a part-time Editorial Assistant to help the Managing Editor in publishing the delayed issues of the Indo-Iranica as soon as possible.

* * * *

و رنگ جنبه صنعتی بخود گرفته بر ابزار سنگی دیگر آن زمان که در جهان کشف گردیده است مزیت و برتری دارد این دقت عمل در ساختن این نوع آلات سنگی معرف اهمیت تمدن ساکنان این سرزمین بوده است .

ابزار مذکور با دوره لوالوازین[۱] (بین سی تا سی و پنجهزار سال ق . م) برابری کرده و شامل ادوات زیرین میباشد .

پیکان ـ سر نیزه ـ کارد یک لبه جهت دست راست ـ کارد جهت دست چپ کارد دو دم ـ ابزار مخصوص تراش و صیقلی کردن ابزار جهت سوراخ کردن تبر و تیشه وغیره .

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(۱) Levalloisien

دره بیستون که در معبر معروف زاگرس قرار گرفته برخلاف امروز که جلوی آن قهوه خانه‌های عدیده وجود داشته و ایستگاه مناسب و با صفائی جهت استراحت و توقف مسافران میباشد در روزگار قدیم دره‌ای سبز و حاصلخیز بوده گله های بزرگی از حیوانات عجیب مانند اسب و گاو وحشی و گاو معروف بُس پری میژینوس[۱] در آن بسر میبرده اند که اکنون اثری از نژاد این حیوانات دیده نمیشود و بلکه نژاد بعضی از این حیوانات امروز از بین رفته است این محل بطور کلی از نظر وفور شکار دارای موقعیتی ممتاز بوده است .

موقعیت مذکور بر اثر حفاری بعدی مشخص گردید زیرا تا عمق ۶/۵ متر که بکف اولیه غار منتهی میشد دقیقاً خاکبرداری شد درمیان آثار کشف شده استخوان‌های عدیده‌ای از گاو موصوف و گوزن وحشی کشف گردید از وضع استخوان قسمت مخصوص بدن شکار که بکرات دیده میشد بر میآید که انسان قدیم ساکن این غار حیوان را در خارج شکار کرده و تنها بدان قسمت از بدن حیوان اکتفا کرده است که برای خوردن بهتر بکار میآمده است مانند ران و شانه . گاهی در ضمن آثار کشف شده دندان‌های این حیوانات دیده میشد که باز در خارج آن دندان‌ها را از فک‌ها و آرواره‌ها کنده اند مورد مصرف این دندان‌ها معلوم نشد لیکن موضوع جالب در این است که بوسیله این دندان‌ها که بیشتر از نوع طواحن است امروز راه سهلی برای شناسائی انواع این حیوانات پیدا میشود .

در عرض بیست و دو روز حفاری دقیق متجاوز از صدها ابزار کار سنگی چخماقی با رنگ و صور و اشکال گوناگون کشف شد که مؤید این است که شکارچیان قدیم ساکن این غار از حیث ابزار کار غنی بوده اند بهمین جهت بطوریکه گفته شد عنوان زرادخانه بدین غار بدون دلیل و بیمورد نبود این ابزار با ظرافت عجیبی ساخته شده است چنانکه از لحاظ فرم و ساخت

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(۱) Bosse Primigenius

که با فرصت کم آنها مباینت داشت ناگفته نماند که بعضی از غارهای کردستان که شهرت بسزائی نیز دارند دخمه‌های مصنوعی هستند که در دوران تاریخی بوجود آمده اند مانند غارکرفتو[۱] که باتمام معروفیتی که در برداشت بکار هیئت علمی آمریکائی نیامد بنابر این در این گفتار سعی میشود بجملی از نتائج حفاریهای غار بیستون را باطلاع خوانندگان محترم مجله ایران و هند برساند .

غار بیستون در دویست متری نقش عظیم داریوش شهریار هخامنشی که بر بدنه کوهی بلند نقش گردیده واقع است این غار کوچک بر حسب تصادف مورد مشاهده هیئت آمریکائی قرار گرفت پیش از شروع بحفاری چنین بر میآمد که ممکن است این شکاف و دخمه که نزدیک نقش تاریخی بیستون بوجود آمده است مصنوعی باشد ولی نتائج حفاری در این غار ممکن این تصور را ثابت نمود .

موقعیت غار بیستون طوری است که چشمه‌های گوارا و متعدّدی که از پای کوه تاریخی و مقدس بیستون میجوشند حوزه آن درست در زیر این غار بوده از حیث نور و روشنائی در مضیقه نبوده دست‌رسی بدان سهل و آسان است و اگر در نظر بگیریم که اقوام قدیم در پی چنین شرائطی برای مسکن خود میگشته اند میتوانستیم یقین حاصل کنیم که حفاری در این غار به نتیجه مثبت خواهد رسید .

غار بیستون از خود نامی نداشت میتوان این تصور را نمود که عظمت آثار هخامنشی که بعداً بوجود آمده است شهرت آن را تحت الشعاع قرار داده است فقط در محل شهرت داشت که از این غار گاهی درویش‌ها و چوپانان هنگام زمستان، تابستان بقصد استراحت استفاده میکنند لیکن بدلیلی که بعداً ذکر میشود پروفسورکون نام غار را شکارچیان و زراد خانه انسان قدیم نامید .

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(۱) Karaftoa

آثار انسان قدیم در بیستون

نگارش آقای حبیب الله صمدی بازرس فنی ادارهٔ کل باستان شناسی

بسال ۱۳۲۸ دانشمندی آمریکائی بنام کارلتون کون[۱] موزه‌دار موزه مردم شناسی دانشگاه پنسیلوانیا و استاد آثار انسان[۲] قدیم در دانشگاه مزبور با اجازه دولت وقت ضمن کاوش در مناطق مختلف ایران در کردستان نیز برای بدست آوردن انسان قدیم حفاری‌هائی نمود وی همچنین از لحاظ نژادی به بررسی‌هائی پرداخت که شایان توجه میباشد آقای کون سرانجام از مجموع مطالعات علمی خود بسیار راضی بوطن خویش بازگشت زیرا نامبرده بر این عقیده بود که برای نخستین بار شانس این مطالعات نصیب او گردیده است درصورتیکه حق در این است از نظر تتبّع هم که شده در اینجا یادآور شویم که پیش از دانشمند مزبور دانشمندان دیگری نیز در ازمنه قدیم باین نوع مطالعات در ایران اجمالاً دست یازیده اند چنانکه بسال ۱۸۵۲ در دره مردی جای مراغه توسط خانیکف[۳] روسی اکتشافاتی بعمل آمد بعداً گبل[۴] روسی اشتراوس[۵] و رودلر[۶] و پولینگ[۷] اطریشی گونتر[۸] انگلیسی مکنم[۹] فرانسوی در این مناطق حفاریهائی کرده بقایای کرکدن و فیل مربوط بدوران پیش از آتشفشانی کوه سهند را کشف کرده اند .

پروفسور کون با همراهان خود از مجموع غارهای عدیده کردستان که مورد مشاهده آنان قرار گرفت تنها در دو غار بیستون و غار تمتمه[۱۰] رضائیه مبادرت بحفاری نمود در بقیه غارها موانعی جهت حفاری آنان وجود داشت

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(۱) Carleton Coon

(۲) Anthropologie

(۳) Khanikov

(۴) Gobel

(۵) Strauss

(۶) Rodler

(۷) Poling

(۸) Günter

(۹) Mequenem

(۱۰) Tamtama

علیه غضبان و من طلبها استعفافاً عن المسئلة و صیانة لنفسه جاء یوم القیمه و وجهه کالقمر لیلة البدر) [۱] غرض اینکه اسلام راجع بزهد هم مانند موضوعات دیگر از افراط و تفریط جلوگیری نموده است و تفصیل این مطلب از وضع این مقاله خارج است علاقه‌مندان میتوانند بقرآن مجید و اخبار و احادیث اسلامیه رجوع فرمایند *

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(۱) حدیث نبوی ص

۵ — راجع بتاثیر افسانه بوداسف در اسلام محتاج به بسط کلام نیست زیرا علاوه از مخالفتهای جوهری و اساسی که در اصول اسلام با طریقه (بودا) وجود دارد و عمده امتیاز ادیان را از یکدیگر در اینجا باید پیدا نمود اسلام با اینگونه رهبانیت و انزوا و بی‌اعتنائی بزندگی دنیا و شئون عائله و تربیت جسمانی سخت مبارزه نموده و رهبانیت را ممنوع ساخته است که (لا رهبانیة فی الاسلام) و در مورد زهد یک مکتب خاص و روش بخصوصی دارد که برای اصلاح و انتظام‌آور دنیا و آخرت و روح و جسم و بشر هر دو مفید است و در آن مکتب بزرگترین زهاد جهان مانند (علی بن ابیطالب علیه السلام) پرورش یافته اند اسلام هم شدیدترین و جامعترین سفارشها و تاکیدات را در باره زهد نموده و هم در تفسیر آن مثل افسانه گوی قصه بوداسف راه غلط نرفته است اسلام نمیخواهد که مردم دست از کار دنیا بکشند و در بیغوله‌ها و غارها و صومعه‌ها و بیابانها مانند انسانهای اولیه یا بعضی از رهبانان و نساک بسر برند و نه کار کنند و نه زحمت کشند و نه در جامعه شرکت کنند بعلاوه مرد مرا به بیکاری و تنبلی و سستی دعوت کنند اسلام میخواهد همه بهم خود در فراهم ساختن وسایل آسایش بشر و راحتی ابناء نوع و عائله و عمران و آبادانی جهان فعالیت و همکاری کنند و هر کس پایه از پایه‌های مجتمع بشری را نگاهداری و حفاظت کند و از نعمت‌های دنیا که خداوند عطا فرموده استفاده کنند (قل من حرم زینة الله التی اخرج لعباده و الطیبات من الرزق)[۱] و بمنظور رسیدن بسعادت آخرت اعمال خیریه و کارهای نیک را بجا آورند و دنیا و آخرت را بهم پیوسته و مربوط بدانند هم میفرماید (یا ایها الذین آمنوا لا تلهکم اموالکم و لا اولادکم عن ذکر الله)[۲] و (حب الدنیا راس کل خطیئة)[۳] و هم میفرماید (کن لدنیاك کانك تعیش ابداً و کن لآخرتك کانك تموت غداً)[۴] و (من طلب الدنیا حلالاً مکاثراً مفاخراً لقی الله و هو

(۱) قرآن مجید سوره ۷ آیه ۴۲ — (۲) قرآن مجید سوره ۶۳ آیه ۹

(۳) حدیث نبوی ص — (۴) حضرت امام حسن مجتبی علیه السلام

یعنی از کتابهای هندیها در افسانه و خرافات یکی کتاب سندباد کبیر و یکی سندباد صغیر و یکی کتاب البد و یکی کتاب بوداسف و بلوهر و یکی کتاب بوداسف مفرد است ملاحظه فرمودید توجه کردید که مسلمانها در قرن چهارم هجری که شاید اولین عصر برخورد آنها بافسانه بوداسف بلوهر و کتاب البد و کتاب بوداسف مفرد بوده چگونه نسبت بآن اظهار نظر کردند این کتاب را در ردیف کتابها و رومانهای عصری مثل حسین کرد و امیر ارسلان رومی و الف لیلة دانسته اند آنوقت آقای زرین کوب باسم اینکه در الفهرست ابن الندیم ذکری از افسانه بوداسف شده میخواهد نفوذ (بودا) را درمیان مسلمانها ثابت کند و از ذکر عبارت ابن الندیم در الفهرست برای مصلحتی که خودشان میدانسته اند خودداری میفرمایند .

امّا صدوق در کتاب (اکمال الدین و تمام النعمة) که متعرض داستان بوداسف شده نه مدرکی برای آن نقل نموده و نه سندی و تازه پس از ذکر قصه در صفحه ۳۵۹ طبع تهران سطر ۱۵ میگوید این داستان و امثال آن مورد اعتماد و استناد نیست وعبارت او اینست (لیس هذا الحدیث و ما شاکله من اخبار المعمرین مما اعتمد فی امر الغیبة و وقوعها) حال قضاوت تاثیر افسانه بوداسف را در مسلمانها بخوانندگان را گذار میکنم .

۴ ــ اینکه نوشته اند درآغاز قرون اسلام در معارضه با حکمة یونانی مورد حمایت و تایید خاصّ اهل زهد واقع بود باید بیان فرمایند کدام زاهد مسلمان و عالم اسلامی در یک جا باین افسانه استناد جسته و چطور ممکن است مطالب فلسفی را که بر پایه عقل و منطق و برهان قرار دارد با چند مثل و افسانه ردّ نمود و تازه کجای فلسفه با زهد حقیقی که اسلام آورده سازگار نیست تا زهاد اسلام در مقام مبارزه با فلسفه برآیند و از کجا معلوم شده که زهد افلاطون فیلسوف یونانی و یا فارابی حکیم اسلامی کمتراز (بودا) بوده است مکر اینکه بفرمائید آنها هم از (بودا) اقتباس کرده اند و هر کس پیش از (بودا) بود و بعد بیاید شاگرد مکتب او میباشد *

۲ـ اینگونه افکار و نظریات در تحریص خشک و خالی به بی‌رغبتی بدنیا و روگردانی از آن یک اندیشه‌هائی نیست که بتوان آنرا بمکتب شخص خاصی نسبت داد و تاریخ پیدایش آنرا معین نمود زیرا همیشه انسان با اینگونه افکار وحشت‌آمیز و ترس‌آور دست در گریبان بوده و درمیان حکما و دانشمندان هم با قطع نظر از دیاناتی که داشته اند هواخواهان بسیار از این مکتب یافت میشود و مجرد موافق بودن بعضی از تعالیم اخلاق (بودا) با تعالیم اشخاص و ادیان دیگر نشانه تاثیر و نفوذ تعالیم او نیست زیرا تمام خردمندان و همهٔ ملل در بسیاری از مسائل اخلاقی و غیر اخلاقی توافق دارند و وجود اینگونه قدر جامع که مورد اتفاق عقول همگی است دلیل اقتباس مسلکی از مسلک دیگر نمیشود .

۳ ـ راجع باینکه در کتب عربی و اسلامی ذکری از این افسانه شده است اگر نویسنده مقاله در نظریات همان دو کتابی (کتاب الفهرست ابن الندیم و کتاب اکمال الدین و تمام النعمة صدوق) که تنها مأخذ عربی این افسانه یاد نموده است دقت نموده بود بمیزان قیمت این افسانه درمیان مسلمانها و بی‌ارجی آن پی میبرد اینک شما دقت بفرمائید امّا (ابن الندیم) در صفحه ۴۲۲ (الفهرست) طبع مطبعه رحمانیه مصر سطرا این نویسد (الفن الاول فی اخبار المسامرین و المخرفین و اسماء الکتب المصنفة فی الاسمار و الخرافات) یعنی فن اول (از مقاله هشتم کتاب) در اخبار داستان سرایان و افسانه‌سازان و خرافه‌گوها و نامهای کتابهائی است که در افسانه‌ها و خرافات نوشته شده و پس ازانکه در اینجا ازکتابهائی مثل کتاب (هزار افسان) و کتاب (الف سمر من اسمار العرب و العجم) و کتاب (خرافة و نزاهة) و کتاب (خرس و روباه) وکتاب (مسک زنانه و شاه زنان) وکتاب (رستم و اسفندیار) و کتاب (دارادیت طلا) و از کتب هندیها کتاب (کلیله و دمنه) را یاد نموده در صفحه ۴۲۴ سطر ۲۲ میگوید او من کتبهم کتاب سندباذ الکبیر و کتاب سندباذ الصغیر و کتاب البد وکتاب بوداسف و بلوهر و کتاب بوداسف مفرد)

ما در اینجا نمیخواهیم که اصل وجود (بودا) و یا تاثیر مواعظ و پندهای او را در یک قسمت بزرگی از مردم جهان انکار کنیم و نمیخواهیم بگوئیم که اگر بشرحی که در این افسانه‌ها یاد شده بودائی وجود داشته است مبانی دینی و تفکرات از نسبت بمبدء و معاد غیر از آنستکه آقایان بودائیهای کنونی بآن عقیده دارند و وقتی (بودا) دارای ارزش معنوی است که از عقیده بخرافاتی مانند تجسم[۱] و تناسخ منزه باشد فقط میخواهیم یادآور شده دو توضیح بدهیم که

۱ – نباید یک افسانهٔ را که بقول آقای زرین کوب میان تمام ملل مشهور و قرنها است که وسیله سرگرمی وگذراندن وقت بشر شده و برای مجعول بودن آن شاهدی بهتر از متن آن نیست با چند گویا و تصور و این گونه الفاظ شک‌آور و حیرت‌افزا پایه یک سلسله نظریات عمده قرار داد و بعقیده من اگر داستان سر او افسانه‌گوی این قصه را (بودا) معرفی کرده بود بهتر قابل قبول بود در هر حال این افسانه افسانه‌ایست که تا حدی جنبه بین المللی یافته و با صورتهای مختلفی درمیان اقوام و طوائف رواج دارد امّا افسانه‌نویس و افسانه‌گویش کیست باحتمال قوّی یکی از حکما و دانشمندان این افسانه را بمنظور هدایت مردم و آشنا کردن آنها بروش فکری و اخلاق خویش جعل نموده است و اگر بودائیان قبول کنند (بودا) را هم میتوان باحتمال افسانه‌نویس این داستان دانست و امّا اصل داستان بچه نحو بوده و آیا با تحریفاتی که در آن شده است داستانی که اکنون در بین است با اصل افسانه موافق است یا نه معلوم نیست و بهرحال بطور قطعی اظهار نظر در معرفی افسانه‌گوی آن خلاف حزم و احتیاط است .

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(۱) در مجلد دویم دائرة المعارف قرن العشرین صفحه ۳۹۱ علامه مصری فرید وجدی نقل کرده که بودائیهای امروزه عقیده دارند که خدا (نیشنو) که یکی از ارکان تثلیث هندی است مکرر برای خلاص بشر مجسم شده و در جسد بودا برای نهمین بار مجسم شده است .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

در اطراف مقالهٔ (در بارهٔ زندگی بوداسف)

بقلم آقای لطف الله صافی گلپایگانی حوزهٔ علمیه قم

روز گذشته شمارهٔ اکتبر ۱۹۵۱ مجله روابط فرهنگی هند و ایران بطور اتفاق بدستم رسید که چون در آن از طرف آقای عبد الحسین زرین کرب نظریاتی (در بارهٔ زندگی بوداسف) اظهار شده و ضمناً هم اشارهٔ بتاثیر و نفوذ تعلیمات (بودا) در تاریخ اسلام و تکمیل تصوف اسلامی نموده است برای رفع اشتباه از خوانندگان محترم و نویسنده مقاله و هم نظر بزیانی که ترویج تعلیمات مکتب (بودا) و رهبانیّت و گوشه گیری برای تقدّم و ترقی ملل جهان عموماً و ملتهای مشرق زمین خصوصاً دارد توضیحات زیر داده میشود و انتظار دارد که مجله مانند مجله روابط فرهنگی هند و ایران که میخواهد در بین صدها ملیون مردم در کشور ایران و هند مقام و موقعیّت شایانی داشته باشد بتواند در آیند با ترویج تعالیم عالیتر که هم ضامن پیشرفت امور دنیائی و حافظ حیثیات ملل و هم باعث سعادت معنوی و اخلاق اقوام باشد مردم مشرق زمین را بشاهراه ترقی رهبری نماید نویسنده محترم مقاله بجای آنکه بخصوصیّات زندگی و تفصیل حالات (بودا) که هنوز هم بر محققین قسمتهای مهمّ آن مانند ولادت و تاریخ آن روشن نیست اشارهٔ بنمایند و راجع بتاریخ (بودا) که از مسائل مبهم و تاریک تاریخ است توضیحات قانع کنندهٔ بدهند یک افسانهٔ را که از افسانه‌های چندی ترتیب یافته نمونهٔ تعلیمات (بودا) دانسته و بگفته خود تصور میکند که چون در مسالک و مذاهب دیگر هم شبیه باین تعلیمات (یا بعبارت صحیح مواعظ) موجود است پس مواعظ (بودا) در زندگی راهبان قرون وسطی و آئین مانی و آئین حضرت مسیح و بلکه دین اسلام نفوذ یافته و حتی انجیل هم در پارهٔ موارد از افسانه (بوداسف و بلوهر) اقتباس کرده و بالاخره همه ملتهای جهان این افسانه را مانند یک انجیل مقدس پذیرفته اند.

گذشته پوزش خواسته برای بار دوم او را بوزارت انتخاب نمود پس از شمس الدوله سماء الدوله پسر او بسلطنت رسید از این زمان بود که شیخ الرئیس گوشه‌خانه را بر مسند وزارت ترجیح داد و بخانه ابو غالب عطار رفت و نهانی با علاء الدوله ابو جعفر کاکویه امیر اصفهان بمکاتبه پرداخت. سماء الدوله از این نامه پرانیها با خبر شده خشمناک گردید و شیخ را در بند کرده بقلعه مردان فرستاد و مدت این حبس بیش از چهار ماه نبود که سماء الدوله از کرده پشیمان شده بود بو علی را آزاد کرد و او را بحال خود را گذارد در این ایام که شیخ بسیار خسته و از زندگانی یکنواخت ملول شده بود دست بتالیف یک سلسله کتب سودمند و آثار نغزی بوجود آورد ولی چون کار و بارش بسیار بد بود و زمانه با او سر ناسازگاری پیش گرفته بود ناچار باصفهان نزد علاء الدوله رفت و از مقربیان درگاه او شد و دنباله تالیفات خود را گرفته آثار برجسته‌ای پدید آورد و همه را بنام علاء الدوله کرد شیخ رفته رفته بر اثر کارهای علمی بسیار و خستگی‌های پیاپی به بیماری قولنجی که از سالهای پیش او را آزار میداد مبتلی گردید و زمینگیر شد در این ایام علاء الدوله عازم همدان بود و با امراء شیخ را با خود همراه ساخته از اصفهان بهمدان آورد در این شهر بود که بیماری او شدت یافته سرانجام در روز جمعه اول رمضان ۴۲۷ هجری بود که از پای درآمد و چراغ تابناک دانش بخاموشی گردانید بو علی در زمره نوابغی است که در دهر نظیر او هزارها سال دیگر هم پدید نخواهد آورد. او که در پزشکی و در فلسفه فاضلی نام‌آور بود کتاب ”قانون“ را با چیره دستی تامی در طب نوشت و با این اثر جاودان خود همه آثار پیشینیان را تحت الشعاع قرار داد. اینک جای بسی خوشوقتی است که پس از گذشت هزار سال جهان شرق تولد این حکیم نامدار را جشن گرفته و با احیاء نام این در تیم فرهنگ خواهی خود را بجهانیان اعلام میدارد.

امیدواریم که جشن هزار ساله ابن سینا مطلع جشن‌های دیگری برای زنده ساختن نام بزرگانی باشد که جهان ادب تا جهان برپاست خود را مدیون آنان دانسته و میداند.

و محلت‌های گرگان را نام برده آنکس آغاز کرد و نام محلت‌ها گفتن گرفت تا رسید بمحلتی که نبض بیمار از آن حالت حرکتی غریب کرد پس ابو علی گفت از این محلت کویها برده آنکس برداد تا رسید بنام کوئی که آن حرکت غریب معاودت کرد پس ابو علی گفت کسی میباید که در این کوی همه سرایها را بداند بیاوردند و سرایها را برداردن گرفت تا رسید بدان سرائی که این حرکت باز آمد. ابو علی گفت اکنون کسی میباید که نامهای اهل سرای بتمام داند و بردهد بیاوردند برداردن گرفت تا آمد بنامی که همان حرکت حادث شد آنگه ابو علی گفت تمام شد پس روی بمعتمدان قابوس کرد و گفت این جوان در فلان محلت در فلان کوی و در فلان سرای بر دختری فلان و فلان نام عاشق است و داروی او وصال آن دختر است و معالجت دیدار او باشد پس بیمار گوش داشته بود و هرچه خواجه ابو علی میگفت میشنید از شرم سر در جامه خواب کشید چون پرسش کردند همچنان بود که خواجه ابو علی گفته بود در اینجا ناگفته نماند بطوریکه از رساله‌ای که ابو علی در شرح حال خود نوشته و ابو عبید الله عبد الواحد جوزجانی روایت کرده است اصلا شیخ الرئیس قابوس را ندیده است و داستان را باید ساخته و پرداخته فکر نظامی عروضی دانست بو علی مدتی در گرگان بماند و آنگاه عازم ری شد و در آن ایام مجد الدوله پسر فخر الدوله دیلمی و ملکه مادرش در ری حکومت داشته مجد الدوله به بیماری جنون مبتلی بود که بو علی بآنجا رسید و او را در اندک زمانی معالجت کرد و در همین شهر بود که کتاب ''معاد،، را نوشت و بنام مجد الدوله کرد بعد روی بقزوین نهاده از آنجا بهمدان رفت و بخدمت شمس الدوله همدانی باریافته بمقام وزارت او رسید ولی مدت این صدارت زیاد طولانی نبود یکدسته سربازان کرد و ترک بعلت عقب افتادن حقوق شورش کردند و چون بو علی مسئول شناخته شد از وزارت معزول و خانه‌نشین شد ولی خدا نخواست که این ادیب مهجور ماند شمس الدوله بمرض قولنج گرفتار آمد و چون بو علی او را معالجه کرد از

تا آثار اولین از میان برود و خود مبتکر جلوه کند»، پذیرفته بر او خشم گرفت این جوان فاضل را آزرده خاطر ساخته خانه‌نشین کرد دیری نپائید که عبد الله روی از این جهان برتافت و بجانان پیوست و امیر نوح هم روی در نقاب خاک کشید و دولت سامانی پس از وی راه زوال پیموده غزنویان بر بخارا مسلط شدند و این شهر امن را که گوشه رندان بود بمجمع غوغائیان مبدل ساختند بو علی که طبعش با اشوب و فساد دمساز نبود بناچار رخت سفر بر بست و شیفته‌وار سر در بیابان نهاده خوش خوش بگرگانج مقر خوارزمشاه آمد و در دربار خوارزمیان بزمره علما و حکما و اطباء درآمد و بر اثر توجه ابو الحسن سهیلی وزیر خوارزمشاه بود که باز گوشه راحتی یافته خیالش از جهت خرج روزانه آسوده شد ولی محمود که چون پیک اجل هر جا که دانشمند فاضل قدم میگذارد او هم چهار اسبه بدنبال او میامد، بخوارزم هم پنجه انداخته این ولایت را گرفت و ابو افضل حسن بن میکال را که از خاصان خود بود مامور کرد که نزد خوارزمشاه آمده ابو علی و جماعتی دیگر از علماء را بدربار غزنین کوچ دهد ابو علی که این خبر را شنید سراسیمه باتفاق دوست دیرین خود ابو سهل مسیحی طبیب که او هم مایل برفتن بغزنین نبود مخفیانه از گرگانج مهاجرت نمودند و بعزم گرگان و ری مقر خوارزمشاه را ترک گفتند طول راه و رنج سفر ابو سهل را از پای در آورده هلاک ساخت ولی بو علی با زحمت بسیار خود را بابیورد رسانیده از آنجا به نسا رفت و از آنجا بطوس و شمنگان و جاجرم آمده عازم گرگان شد و در این شهر بود که محکمه‌ای دایر کرده بمعالجه مرض پرداخت و روزگاری چند در گمنامی بسر آورد تا اینکه خواهر زاده قابوس مبتلی بمالیخولیا گردید و همه اطباء از معالجه او عاجز ماندند کسی از خدمه نشان ابو علی را داد بلا فاصله او را حاضر کردند و بطوریکه نظامی عروضی در چهار مقاله متذکر این مطلب شده بو علی دست و نبض او بگرفت و از حالات او پرسید پس گفت مرا مردی میباید که غرفات و محلات گرگان را همه شناسد بیاوردند و گفتند اینک ...... ابو علی دست بر نبض بیمار نهاد و گفت بر گوی

مفاهیم کلی آن نائل نیامده بود تا اینکه یک تصادف کوچک، موجب شد کتاب ''اغراض کتاب ما بعد الطبیعه'' معلم ثانی ''ابو نصر فارابی'' بدستش افتد و بکمک همین کتاب بود که قادر بفهم علم اعلی گردید و بمکتب نرفته و استاد ندیده مسئله آموز صد مدرس شد ... دیگر بو علی آن کودک ساده دانشجوی ساده دل نبود بلکه جوان پر شور فاضلی بود که شهرت طبابتش سراسر بخارا فرا گرفت وصیت دانشش با قطار این سامان رسیده بود قضارا در این ایام امیر نوح بن منصور سامانی به بیماری مبتلی شد که پزشکان دربار در علاجش فروماندند روزی در مجلس امیر سخن از چیره دستی ابو علی بمیان آمد و هرکس در این باره از مشهودات خود داستانها گفت. امیر که بیماری سخت نحیف و زارش ساخته بود بشنیدن این مژده تامل جایز ندیده اشارت فرمود تا هرچه زودتر ابو علی را یافته بخدمت آرند. طبیب جوان که درگوشه کلبه بمطالعه و معالجه سرگرم بود وقتیکه فرستادگان امیر را در کاشانه خود دیدیکه خورده بتردید افتاد و تصور کرد که گماشتگان راه خطا پیموده و بیاوه نزد او آمده اند ولی وقتیکه مضمون امریه را باو نشان دادند چشمهایش خیره شد لحظه‌ای بیحرکت و خاموش ایستاد آنگاه جامه مندرسی را که بصدها رنج تهیه کرده بود پوشیده بهمراه فرستادگان امیر بخدمت نوح آمد و در اندک زمان بیماری او را مداوا کرده امیر را بروز نخست باز گردانید و این حسن علاج موجب تقرب درگاه گردید. نوح که ابو علی را جوانی علاقه‌مند و مطلع یافته بود بپاداش این حسن خدمتی که کرده بود کتابخانه خود را که از امهات کتبخانه های عالم شمرده میشد باختیار او گذارد و نان و آبش را راه انداخته از غم دنیا آسوده خاطرش ساخت ولی حسودان به مقام او غبطه خوردند و با دستهای ناپاک خود بر کتابخانه آتشی افگنده این کانون امن و راحت را مبدل بمشتی خاکستر ساختند. امیر سامانی که از سوختن کتابخانه سخت متاثر و اندوهناک شده بود سخن سخن‌چینان را که گفته بودند ''ابو علی پس از استفاده کامل از کتابخانه آن را بعمد سوخته است

که بو علی توانست بفراغ بال به تحصیلات خود ادامه دهد و چون طبعی وقاد و هوشی سرشار داشت در دهسالگی قرآن و اصول دین و علم ادب قدیم را که مشتمل بر نحو و صرف و معانی و بیان بود بخوبی فرا گرفت و از هر یک از این علوم صاحب نظر شد در آن روزها فضلا و اهل ادب بخارا چون عبد الله را اهل درد یافته بودند گاه و بیگاه بخانه او آمده از سخنان دلاویزوی استفادتها میبردند. ابو علی با یک کنجکاوی خاصی که شیوه مردمان تیز هوش است در این مجالس حاضر میشد و از هر خرمن گلی میچید و بخاطر سپرده هر روز خود را کاملتر از روز پیش میساخت. عبد الله که این همه فراست و استعداد را در فرزند خردسال خود دیده بود او را بنزد بقال بخارائی که حساب را بخوبی میدانست برد تا این دانش را که بآن میلی وافر ابراز مینمود فرا گیرد. بو علی در چند جلسه مقدمات حساب را نزد این مرد فرا گرفته آنگاه بدرس محمود مساح که از علمای این دانش بود رفته معلومات خود را تکمیل کرد و چون بسنت پدرش شیعه اسمعیلی مومنی بود خدمت اسمعیل زاهد که از فقه های متبحر شیعه بود رفت و فقه را نزد او آموخت. فن ایساغوجی را هم از ابو عبد الله ناتلی فرا گرفت در این ایام دانشی نمانده بود که بو علی از آن بهره‌ای وافی کسب نکرده باشد و چون از قدیم شنیده بود که ''العلم علمان علم الابدان و علم الادیان،، دانش دین را که میدانست بسراغ طب رفت و نزد ابو منصور حسن بن نوح القمری بفرا گرفتن این دانش پرداخت و بطوریکه خود از شرح حال خویش در این باره نوشته ''طب از علوم مشکله نبود و چیزی نگذشت که بیماران را معالجه و مداوا مینمود ''پزشکی را با شوق و رغبت زیاد آموخت و بمداوای مرضی پرداخت ـ در این روزها بیش از شانزده سال نداشت.

جوان نورسته ما که طبع کنجکاویش را اینگونه چیزها سیراب نمیکرد بمطالعه کتب ما بعد الطبیعه پرداخت و بنابر اظهار خودش چهل بار کتاب ما بعد الطبیعه را بدقت خوانده بطوریکه عبارت آنرا از بر کرد ولی هنوز بدرک

و هنوز بمرحله جوانی نرسیده بود از کودکی مثل یک فرشته داستان هزار و یک شب مثل یک جادوگر چیره دست مانند یک رویای طرب‌انگیز بدیع و نو ظهور بود - چشمان زیبای سیاه او که گوشه آن بطرز دلپذیری فرو رفته و صورتی معما آمیز بدو بخشیده بود نگاههائی که پرستش زیبائی را به بیننده میاموخت همه و همه اینها ''عبد الله،، بینوا را با یک حجب و حیائی که بیش از هر کرشمه و نازی محرک عشق و شوق بود بطرف خود کشید و او را که میخواست علی رغم تمنّیات دل خود عمری را در انزوا بسر آرد بشیدائی و دیوانگی کشانید ''عبد الله،، ماهها در پنهانی با دل خود بستیز پرداخت سرانجام پایش در عاشقی سست آمده قدمش پیش نرفت و در این مبارزه با شکست مواجه گشته بناچار تسلیم عشق شد و ستاره آن دخترک زیبای افشنه‌ای را بهزاران زحمت بعقد خویش در آورد و مثل کسیکه یک گمشده گرانبهائی یافته باشد سرمست باده وصال گردید و خوشحالیها کرده از اینکه خود را در آستانه سعادت و خوشبختی میبافت سخت راضی بود ''عبد الله،، و ''ستاره،، که از مواهب زندگی بحد اعلی متمتع بودند یگانه آرزویشان پیدا کردن فرزندی بود که آنهم پس از چند ماهی برآورده شد زیرا خدا نمیخواست که کاشانه این دو دلداده بیقرار و ساکت و آرام ماند. گویا در یکی از روزهای ماه صفر ۳۷۰ هجری بود که این آرزو جامه عمل پوشید و خداوند به ''عبد الله،، پسری عنایت کرد که او را ابو علی نام نهادند عبد الله که خود را صاحب فرزندی یافته بود از شدت خوشحالی نمیدانست چه کند هر جا میرفت سخن از او میگفت و هر که را میدید از شیرین کاریهای او حکایتها میپرداخت و چون آرزو داشت که روزی فرزندش یکی از فضلای عصر خویش گردد از کودکی او را تحت مراقبت خویش در آورده بسی خرد سال بود که ویرا بمکتب سپرد تا قرآن و کتابت آموزد ولی دوران این تلمذ زیاد بطول نیانجامید زیرا بو علی پنجساله بود که پدرش بحکم اجبار ناگزیر شد دست زن و دو فرزند بو علی و محمود را گرفته از قریه جز میشن به بخارا آید و در این شهر بود

ابن سینا

بقلم آقای ناصر الدین شاه حسینی

در آن روزگاران که شهر ''بلخ،، را رونقی بسزا بود و کانون بیدلان و رندان تردامن شمرده میشد کمتر کسی بود که نام ''عبد الله بن حسن بن سینا،، را نشنیده باشد. این مرد خوش قریحه پاکدل با اینکه منصب دیوانی داشت و بمقتضای پیشه خود ناگزیر بود بآنچه با ذوق و هنر سروکاری دارد پشت پا زده غرق درمادیات شود بمحض اینکه مختصر فراغتی میبافت دوستان یکدل را که یار شاطر بودند نه بار خاطر در خانه خود جمع کرده به بحث و گفتگو میپرداخت و بسخن آنان دلخوش میداشت. ولی از آنجا که مدار جهان بر کجروی با اهل صفاست روزگار بر این مرد زنده دل سخت گرفت و کارو بارش رو بکسادی گذارد ''عبد الله،، که در جهان جز دلی زیبا پسند وارث چیز دیگری نبود بناچار ترک یار و دیار گفته بجانب بخارا که مقر سامانیان بود آمد و پس از ماهها سرگردانی بخدمت سلطان بار یافت و باشاره پادشاه امور مالیات دیوانی قریه ''جز میشن،، که از مضافات بخارا است باو سپرده شد. ''عبد الله،، که تا این زمان دل بخط و خال گلرویان نبسته و بشیوه جوانان هوسباز بسراغ عشق و عاشقی نرفته بود بناگاه عاشق شد و در این راه نه دل بلکه هرچه داشت باخت. آن دختر زیبا که عبد الله سنگدل را به تب و تاب افکنده بود روستازاده‌ای از اهالی قریه ''افشنه،، نزدیک جز میشن بود او که قامتی برازنده و چهره‌ای ملکوتی داشت مثل آفتاب روانبخش بهاری گرم و شادی دهنده و چون ستاره پر کرشمه مشتری زیبا و با شکوه بود. در زیر امواج موهای مشکی رنگ خود صدها دل نهفته داشت و با نگاههای گناه پرور خویش در دل جوانان قریه بیمی آمیخته بامید میانداخت. او با اینکه هنوز سنی نداشت که بتواند ''سوژهٔ،، عشق واقع شود

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Abu 'Alī Ibn' Sīnā (Avicenna).
Born A.H. 370/A.D. 980; died A.H. 428/A.D. 1037.
(An imaginary portrait by an Iranian artist.)

Messages of Goodwill

I

I am glad to learn that the Iran Society of Calcutta is shortly going to publish a special number of its quarterly 'Indo-Iranica' on the occasion of the millenium of the great Iranian savant Shaikh Abu Ali Ibn Sina.

The cult of truth, wherever it may be found, breeds that intellectual fairness which helps a man to acknowledge his own limitations and paves the way to mutual understanding between people which must necessarily be based on some truth shared by the parties concerned.

Shaikh Abu Ali Ibn Sina explains his broadmindedness whilst remaining a good Muslim. What we would term to-day "communalism" or "narrow-nationalism" had no place in Ibn Sina's mental make up. He taught the people to treat every minority, racial or religious, with peace, goodwill and toleration and above all with human sympathy.

On this great occasion, I tender to the Iranian community my greetings and my best wishes during the years to come and pray that they may ever, as heretofore, continue to serve the Great Father of us all with deep affection, devotion and piety.

Raj Bhavan,
Calcutta.
13th November, 1953

H. C. MOOKERJEE.
Governor of West Bengal.

II

I have learnt with pleasure that you have decided to dedicate a Special Number of your esteemed Quarterly to the great Iranian physician and philosopher, Sheikh Abu Ali Ibn Sina. Indeed, it is but fitting and proper that while the proposed Abu Sina Millenium is yet in the offing, scholars all over the world, and in particular in an ancient and great country like India, should be made more and more Abu Ali—minded by such useful ventures as you have very thoughtfully decided to undertake, so that this magnificent pooling of the intellectual resources might ultimately lead to something of abiding and permanent value to truth and science.

To dilate, however, upon the singularly great career of the Sheikh and to discuss the different aspects of his extremely variegated and chequered life would be both presumptuous as well as difficult for me, in this very short message. All, therefore, that I will say is that the world today must take a lesson from super-intellectuals like Avicenna, who would go to all springs of human thought, drink deep at their fountains and then enrich themselves and their fellow men by the catholicity, broad-mindedness and generosity of outlook thus attained. Men today, so at least it seems to me, like to live in their own narrow grooves, abhorring to step beyond their parochial boundaries. It is really sad. We must get to know about other people's faiths, beliefs, history and social customs as much as it may be possible for us, thus alone we can achieve what is called a dispassionate and disinterested outlook in life, and that is exactly what the great Sina did.

The Sheikh lived a noble life. His supreme mission was the attainment of perfection and acquisition of knowledge. As long as he lived he shone like a light. But even after his passing away he has been shining and would continue to do so throughout the ages.

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AVICENNA AND MYSTICISM

By

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I DEEM it a great privilege to be given the opportunity to speak to the members and the invitees of your flourishing Iran Society of Calcutta on a subject which was suggested to me by your Reverend President Father Courtois, and which I have indeed very much at heart not only because Avicenna is being celebrated and discussed all over the world in this year of his Millenary Celebrations, but most of all because Ibn Sīnā is and always will remain one of the leading landmarks in the cultural history of mankind for every age and every period because of his outstanding merits in many fields of learning and most of all, and even more than for his medical and generally scientific gifts, for his philosophical and theological teachings.

It will not be necessary to remind you of the data of his life ; they are generally known. I will only mention as a sufficient background that he lived in the 10th and 11th century, that he was born in the vicinity of Bukhara and died at Hamadān after a life very rich in achievements as a doctor, as a wazir and most of all as an outstanding philosopher.

Avicenna's *Qānūn fi'l-Tibb*, encyclopædia of medical sciences, was the leading handbook for medicines both in the East and the West, for Muslims, Jews and Christians alike up till the 16th century, but his metaphysical doctrine of the *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, a real encyclopædia of all philosophical learning, of physics, mathematics and metaphysics holds till this day the greatest attention in spite of the partial refutation by al-Ghazālī and by the schools of orthodox, traditional theological teachings of Islām. It may be true that in his teachings about the eternity of the world, about God's knowledge of the particulars and even in some matters relating to the life after death and the ma'ād in general he exceeded the bounds of rational interpretation allowed by his faith, it may be true that Ibn Sīnā in several points was too faithful to his Greek masters, this does not in the least entitle us to belittle his outstanding philosophical achievements, which though dependent in many points on his Greek predecessors yet bear their own personal stamp and offer us a doctrine in which he has given to the world a synthesis of Aristotelism, of Platonic and neo-Platonic teachings in most points adapted to the revelation of the Qur'ān and a real Muslim-philosophy just in the same way as in the West it was given to such a great scholar as St. Thomas of Aquinas to enrich the Christian doctrine with a synthesis, proceeding from much the same fundamental material which has remained and always

will remain the most vital synthetical contribution to Catholic philosophy and theology.

However great the difference may be between the system of Ibn Sīnā if compared with that of Ibn Rushd, the one being a blending of neo-Platonism and Aristotelism while Ibn Rushd is a much more faithful disciple of Aristotle, it remains true of Ibn Sīnā what Ibn Rushd said in answer to the objection coming from the Ash'arites, that the truth is one and that if people in the past have elaborated a doctrine of that truth be they Greeks or Muslims, it would be ridiculous to reject this meritorious work on the ground that it did not originate from the Muslims "wa in kāna ghairinā" (Cf. *"Kitāb Fasl al-Macāl"* ed. *Müller, Philosophie und Theologie von Averroës,* München 1859, p. 3). What he implies in this passage is that whatever the Muslims may be able to achieve in this field of learning of philosophical and theological teachings, it can finally reach the same fundamental principles of man's thought, precisely because the truth remains one and unique for all peoples and all creeds and all ages.

It will remain therefore an achievement to which Christians and Muslims and Jews, agnostic and atheistic scholars will always look up to with great reverence and admiration, I mean, the fact that Ibn Sīnā was able with the splendid gifts of his mind to think out a philosophical system which in its theory of knowledge, its explanation of prophethood and its mystical union with the 'aql fa'āl, the active intellect, remains a unique and personal explanation of philosophy and Muslim theology in those matters in which the philosophy of a believer necessarily expands into the fields of his own belief.

I may claim indulgence for this digression into the theological field, because what I have said about his theology also bears on the mystical doctrine of Ibn Sīnā which is the special subject of this lecture to-day.

It was the great Hanbalite scholar Ibn Taymiyya who often reproduced Ibn Sīnā for having influenced later mysticism and led it into a way in which it became monism (the theory which admits the equality of all being). Now we must remember that Ibn Taymiyya was hostile to all mysticism. But his warnings testify enough to the fact of Ibn Sīnā's influence. Even though in the case of Ibn Taymiyya these reproaches are usually of more merit than those of many other doctors, we should not forget that the orthodox teachers of Ash'arism sometimes reproached others for doctrines from which they themselves were not completely free. Does not Ibn Rushd level at al-Ghazālī a direct accusation of gravest hypocritical insincerity over a matter which al-Ghazālī had ostensibly singled out as the prime test of orthodoxy, namely the doctrine of emanation? Ibn Rushd says (*Kitāb Kashf 'an Manāhij,* ed, Müller 1859, p. 21) that in the *Mishkāt al Anwār* al-Ghazālī teaches "that all of them are veiled (with veils of darkness) save those who believe that Allāh is not the mover of the First Heaven, *He being the One from Whom this mover of the First Heaven emanated"* which

evidently is the same teaching as the one he so vehemently rejects when it is proposed by the philosophers.

It remains true however that Ibn Taymiyya's accusation is justified and that the monism in Ibn Sīnā's teaching indeed falsified much of his mystical theory and even may make us doubt whether as mysticism it was at all genuine notwithstanding the scholarly explanations of it in his small mystical allegories 'The bird' "Ḥay ben Yaqẓān" etc. and most of all in the last chapters of his great work *"Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa'l-Tanbīhāt"*.

What may excuse my daring to approach such a subject as mysticism is the encouraging Arabic proverb: *mā lā yudraku kulluhu lā yutraku kulluhu* "that which cannot be wholly attained need not be wholly abandoned" and I receive courage from the words of Ibn Sīnā's great ṣūfī-master and founder of a mystical school in Nīshāpūr Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr who testified for his pupil Ibn Sīnā "all that he *knows*, I *see*" to which Ibn Sīnā reverently answered "All he *sees*, I *know*".

In this testimony of the master as also in the answer of the pupil a distinction is made on which my further elaboration is founded. The distinction between "seeing" and "knowing" will justify what I am going to explain to you in this lecture. I do not want so much to explain to you what Ibn Sīnā's mystical teaching was in itself, but much more what the distinction is between the genuine mystical experience and that which may be considered to be the teaching on mystical experience such as proposed by Avicenna.

To that end I will firstly explain the characteristics of genuine mystical experience by appraising the claims made for natural intuition and natural mysticism as opposed to real supernatural mysticism and secondly we will see how the doctrine of Avicenna as a doctrine of mysticism falls short of these requirements mainly through his monism but also by the too great emphasis he laid on the part played by human reason in opposition to the experience of the heart, as indicated in Khayr's saying: "What I see, he knows".

As often was the case in previous centuries so also in our age philosophical trends have approached the mystical phenomena and tried to give an explanation of them without any relation to faith. Whether they think these phenomena to be either subconscious or subliminal or whatever other sort of psychological aberrations or even natural evolutions in man they accept it as a fact that mystical experience is an experience which at least partly falls under the control of experimental psychology, in so far as it is concrete and approachable. But whatever explanations the psychologists give, whether they see in these experiences only somatical reactions in nervous and unsteady persons or any other kind of extravagances, they all come to the conclusion that this mysticism without exception serves a religious purpose in those who experience it, whether this religion be theism, monism, even pantheism or materialism. The psychologists have to admit

that there is in the mystics an urge which forces them to strive after self-annihilation and the practice of self-sacrificing love in which man wants to achieve the increasing self-realisation of his spirit. In other words: man in his mystical experience more than in any other expression of daily life proves to be a religious being. By this "religious" is meant a being which essentially experiences and accepts as such the limitations of its own perfections but which strives to render itself more and more perfect by transcending those limitations and by capturing values which lie outside its own natural ambitus. Human experience is directed in a continual series of actualisations toward something which is of a higher order. This need of transcendence is at the root of his own limitation and is at the same time the urge to more perfection. It is religion which presents itself as the concrete form, phenomenologically, of this ontological state of our existence. Positive scientists of experimental psychology like W. James, Leuba (*Psychologie du mysticism religieux*, Paris 1925, p. 462), Delacroix (*Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion*, Paris 1923) and others accept the law that human life is necessarily constructed as an essential over-reaching of itself so that transcendence becomes an immanent element of man's nature. As in all religious life all the more so in mystical experience this dualism of the finite in man and the appeal to the transcendental are felt. But those psychologists admit that in these apparent extravagances we find the richest blossoming of the human personality.

In their experiences the mystics speak of over-reaching their nature and of finally enjoying communion with the Absolute Being in intuition and fruition. The psychologists though entitled to give an explanation of the phenomenal side of those mystical experiences should realise that the last word cannot be spoken by any experimental science but only by metaphysics and theology. They should realise that all the more clearly since they admit themselves that mysticism is a religious phenomenon.

In course of time from the philosophical side several explanations of those mystical experiences have been given. Numerous are those who have given a theistic explanation and who have accepted absolute transcendence. For them the innate desire in man to reach the transcendental proves that there is a Being which transcends all worldly values and which only and solely can satiate the desire for perfection in man. Without the existence of a God, they say, no explanation would be possible for this natural urge in man.

Others while upholding a theistic explanation have tried to find it in a pantheistic form even while admitting a transcendental God. They nevertheless may be theists because these pantheists never accepted that God only exists because of the mystical experience ; the only aspect they emphasise in mystical experience is that man renders his personality to that what is immensely greater than he is himself and while emphasising this

aspect to extremes unfortunately they hold on to a partial truth, which does not cover the whole question.

Others have offered a monistic explanation of the mystical experience. They differ from the theists in that for them the transcendental as experienced by the mystics is not absolutely different from the mystic himself. While monism does not necessarily exclude the existence of spiritual values it does only deny that the cause is outside the natural human sphere of being to which man as a rational being aspires. The human realisation of greater and ever growing perfection proves, they say, how the evolution of the universe must be seen as a hierarchical process, which as far as we are able to see it taking shape in human nature as the highest form of the perfectioning of the universe, points at an immanent dialectics of the world-soul.

For all these explanations the mystical experience constitutes the highest and most admirable activity in man. Must it astonish us, therefore, if we see that however much those systems may differ in the essential problems of God and the world all their adherents have nevertheless given the greatest attention to solving the problems connected with it in favour of their own conception of man and of human life. What their mystical doctrine is worth depends therefore solely and wholly on their initial acceptance of the relation between God and man.

I want now to illustrate what I have just said by some examples from the numerous and famous mystics amongst the ṣufīs.

All the ṣufīs emphasise the need of detachment and isolation in order to reach the mystical state. They call it usually *tajrīd or tafrīd* but with this difference that *tajrīd* is the detachment of all the accidentals and appearances while *tafrīd* is the ultimate and real detachment in which every form and even the form of the mystic and his own consciousness is excluded. While *tajrīd* means that man possesses nothing any more, *tafrīd* denotes that man is not possessed by anything any more. What the mystics seem to indicate by this word is that man should be free from every conceptual idea, and as Bisṭāmī said should go as far as "to pull off his own self just as the snake leaves behind its skin". *Tafrīd* therefore is complete isolation and detachment including even the consciousness of one's own soul. Not that this doctrine is only found amongst the Muslim ṣufis ; it is indeed found amongst all the mystics in the world ; *tafrīd* and *tajrīd* would, as Massignon has pointed out (Cf. *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*) very well agree with what in Indian mysticism is called samādhi in its absolute or less absolute stage. It is, in short the detachment and self-negation found in every natural and supernatural mysticism. This urge is born from the essential desire, the *'iṣhq dhātihi,* to over-reach oneself which I have just mentioned before. But while in this point they all agree we will now see how the further evolution of the

experience and the underlying theological doctrine may fundafnentally disagree.

While all the examples we will bring forth represent Muslims who should in their muslim belief adhere to the monotheistic principles of faith, we will see how in varying stages they are either misled into unbelief or helped by mysticism to further the traditional faith by truths which they gathered from their experiences.

There is first of all that class of mystics who like al-Ḥallāj clearly reject all pantheism and all pantheistic implications to which the mystical experience might lead. He complains that in his mystical absorption between himself and God there remains his "I"

"Between me and Thou there is a "it is me" which torments me
Take away by Thou "It is me" "It is me" from between us.

Evidently al-Ḥallāj complains that he cannot make his *tafrīd* complete that he is not able, on his own account, to achieve the whole fruition. He realises that fruition only can result if *infirād* is given and by *infirād* he means the transmutation and isolation which is not only isolation but at the same time a dynamic state which while all but quietistic is a dynamic power coming from God. By it the soul while drawn apart from everything else is elevated to God's own being. As al-Ḥallāj says: "Then God turned by a Thought of His Thoughts . . . by love (*'iṣhq*) to isolation" or as he says elsewhere: "The love of God for man is that God makes Himself into his trial".

While therefore other mystics concentrate their attention on the negative aspect of the mystical way, which, taken by itself, must lead to the slow destruction of man, "consumed away", as Massignon says, "by the inaccessible sun of the divine unity", in al-Ḥallāj the negative character of detachment is fully balanced by the dynamic and active intercession of God Himself Who draws the soul to the mystical union. To al-Ḥallāj the mystery of creation was the divine Love, the Essence of the divine Essence in which man was called to participate. Hence the mystical union does not consist in that pure intuition in the divine unity as others ṣūfis held, but it is a personal adhesion to the divine fiat which makes the soul of the mystic the organ of the Divine Spirit and causes it to participate in the life of God.

There are however dangers here of two extremes into which some of the monotheistic mystics amongst the Muslims have fallen. The *tafrīd* or isolation and detachment, the ascetical endeavour of man is necessary, but we may not lose sight of the fact that as al-Ḥallāj saw so clearly, the fruition of God lies finally outside the power of man. The infinite distance between God and man forces man to deny every possibility of arriving at God on his own accord. The transcendence of the Eternal and Infinite is such that only He is really Being while the creatures are by themselves void and null. To bridge this gulf is only possible by the Bounty and

Mercy and gratuitous Graces of God who out of His love, as al-Hallāj said, asks our love in return.

The one extreme is that man thinks to be able to bridge this gulf by his own power. To this extreme cause all those ṣūfīs who thought that by *dhikr* they were able to commune with the Infinite. Certainly this technique may be used as a preparatory stage to invite God's grace through recollection and silence in the soul. Thus al-Ghazālī says it:

> "After sitting down in solitude (the ṣūfī) leaves not off from saying with his mouth: God, God continually and consciously till he arrives at a state when the movement of his tongue ceases and till he sees the word as running over it (the tongue). Then he comes to the point of effacing each trace of the word on the tongue and he finds his heart continually applied at *dhikr;* he perseveres therein till he arrives at effacing from his heart the image of the pronouncement of the letters and the form of the word till the meaning of the word alone remains in his heart, present in it, as joined to him and not leaving him.

Then al-Ghazālī concludes quite rightly:

> It is in the power of the ṣūfi to reach this limit and to make endure this state while repulsing temptation ; but it is not in his power to draw to himself the Mercy of God Most High".

In this text of the *Ihyā'* al-Ghazālī therefore praises the preparation practised in the *dhikr* but not as directly effective. The superior state of union of the soul, he says, is completely gratuitous and a special gift from God. Many mystics however, or who called themselves such, considered this *dhikr* to be an efficacious means to arrive at union as it were automatically but their mysticism cannot have been far different from what we will meet in a man like al-Bisṭāmī.

The other extreme is that of quietism as we find it in mystics like Ibn al-'Arīf (first half of 12th cent). For him the idea of God's transcendence was such that all the endeavours, the stations and *maqāmāt* of the mystics and ascetics are not only useless but even damnable if by them they hope to arrive at the union of God. Ascetism (*zuhd*) must be the elimination of all preoccupations of all worldly affections. *Tawakkul* or the complete confidence in God should consist in keeping one's soul completely empty of all personal initiative. No *sabr* (patience) or *ḥazn* (desolation), not even *khauf* (fear) or *shukr* (gratitude) may take place in his heart because the Bounty and infinite Beauty of the Omnipotent must prevent him from seeking favour or affliction. *Maḥabbat* (love) is the only possible *maqāmat,* a love however not for the benefits man has received but only for the Beauty and Majesty of God as seen in mystical union.

However heroic this doctrine may seem, it nevertheless does away with the freedom in man, and preaches a *laissez-aller* and a kind of inaction which because of its fatalism is completely unacceptable.

How much more dignified are the words of a Rabī'a, in the first century after the Prophet's death also speaking about her love, but in the real grandeur of a human being which though realising its own nothingness knows that God can allow it to be great. She says:

O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of hell, burn me in hell
and if I worship Thee from hope of Paradise, exclude me thence
but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me
Thine Eternal Beauty

(Cf. Marg. Smith *"Readings from the Mystics of Islam"*, p. 11).

This heroic love she expressed also in these words:

"O Lord, whatever share of this world Thou dost bestow on me, bestow it on Thine enemies, and whatever share of the next world Thou dost give me, give it to Thy friends ; Thou art enough for me".

(Cf. Marg. Smith *"Rabī'a"*, p. 27).

To this school of Rabī'a, and al-Ḥallāj we may reckon many others. They understand that the vision of God and His fruition is completely outside the powers and exigencies of human nature and therefore only possible by a special grace of God.

In opposition to Christianity Islam does not admit original sin ; for Islam man is in a kind of *'natura pura'* state so that every grace and gift of God, be it the higher graces of mystical union, or of daily sustenance and livelihood, are all in the same way pure gifts and signs of His Bounty. The grace of mystical union however is often expressly called God's love. 'Iraqī (13th century) in his very beautiful mystical poems extols this grace as the love of God *par excellence* and refers to its origin on "that primeval day" of the Covenant of God with man:

On that primeval day when man was made
receptive unto love, thereafter God
did of His grace bestow an instrument
whereby he might determine good from ill

(Cf. *The Song of Loves*, ed. and transl. A. J. Arberry, Islamic Research Association n.8, London 1939, p. 32).

Or elsewhere:

This bond that links my spirit unto Thee
was fashioned first upon creation's day (*ibid.*, p. 64).

My soul is drunken with the wine
quaffed on that first, primeval day
when Thou wast mine, and I was Thine (*ibid.*, p. 66).

Very emphatically he states that man left to himself cannot come to union with God:

On the foot of self
I cannot tread this path unless Thou too
art passing: verily, no man hath seen
the farthest borders of this wilderness
save with the soul's eye ; yet hath the eye a link
with the eternal, and in the bazaar
of the unending Kingdom is a coin.
Within the vasty spaces of this world
the coin of God's grace has currency (*ibid.*, p. 4).

This grace it is the love cast by God into the soul·

love's wine none but the selfless sips.
What man has quaffed this cup, how shall he gaze
upon his body or his soul again!
The spirit that this anguish hath endured
can never forget it . . . the alphabet of love,
once learned, wipes clean the tablet of the mind
of all that erst it knew, and when the slate is washed,
the Lover whispers to the heart:
"O heart, my heart, thou leavenest thyself . . .
Thou art the home of love and of Beloved . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 16).
"This is affection cast in thee by Me" (*ibid.*, p. 26).
"and when the soul received the word of God
it found love waiting at the boundary" (*ibid.*, p. 59).

Listen how he sings of this love of God which as a divine grace is given to the soul:

Since unto love my spirit drew
love lays a burden on my heart:
since heart and love together grew,
I cannot tell the twain apart.
Now from my heart like herbs that spring
from dust, love leaps, now falls as rain.
Love came, love conquered, love is king:
if love were lost, all life is vain.
I cannot tell how came this woe,
who willed it, for what fault in me.
Be still, my heart! Complain not so ;
be honoured that Love visits thee.

Here is made clear in very beautiful language that mystical graces can only come from God. Man must prepare himself by asceticism and self-renunciation in order that God may come and make in him His abode of

love. No quietism here, no pantheism but the surest mystical teaching in the sense of al-Ḥallāj and Rabī'a.

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Already in the ninth century we see in the case of al-Bisṭāmī the emergence of the pantheistic and the antinomian strain which ultimately came to dominate Muslim mysticism to a great extent.

In Bisṭāmī the liberation of self and the detachment seem to remain on solely negative lines. The ultimate object reached in this experience seems to be self, as the substantial existence of the mystic. However, not wanting to go outside the bounds of Islamic monotheism Bisṭāmī describes his experience as the reaching of the Subsistent Being Itself. Some of his utterances are as extreme and extravagant as anything that is found in the writings of the disciples of Ibnu'l-'Arabi. For instance: "Allah is great, and I am greater still". Praise be to Me, Praise be to Me, how great My Glory". He once even dared to say to one of his disciples "It is better for you to see Me once than to see God a thousand times". Even though these utterances need not necessarily to be interpreted in the sense of their monistic theosophy but as mystical paradoxes, they nevertheless had an unfortunate influence on Ṣūfī piety. What is even worse in Bisṭāmī's teaching is that though he feels a thirst for God and isolates himself in complete *tafrīd*, though the utterances which at first sight testify to pantheism may very well only be expressions to indicate that he really enjoyed a kind of intuition, it is evidently only a natural experience in which in detaching himself from everything else he reaches the very depth of his own being and interprets that to be the Holy Being most High. Muslim orthodoxy quite rightly condemned his sayings in the most explicit way as pride and pantheism. His antinomian tendencies indeed are proof enough that his mysticism is not genuine. But there is some justification in his attitude. Did not orthodoxy insist too much on God's all-pervading power which by its predestinarian tendency wronged the very nature of God? With this predestinarian view no mystic can rest content. The refusal of moral and intelligible values to the phenomenal world only serves to throw him back upon the One Reality. If God alone is, then all that is, is God and the transitory being of creatures is but a veil thrown over the one true substance. Thus the Muslim theologian's insistence on divine transcendence and unity too easily culminates in a monism no less complete than that of the neo-Platonist philosopher, whose system we will consider next. But before we proceed to examine Avicenna's monistic system let us first give some more examples of this Bisṭāmī-type of mysticism of a loosely pantheistic type. Thus we read in the poems of Baba Kūhī, the 11th century mystic of Shīrāz:

In the market, in the cloister—only God I saw,
In the valley and the mountain—only God I saw,

(..............)

In prayer and fasting, in praise and contemplation,
In the religion of the prophet—only God I saw.
Neither soul nor body, accident or substance,
Qualities nor causes—only God I saw.
Like a candle I was melting in His fire
amidst the flames outflashing—only God I saw.
Myself with mine own eyes I saw most clearly,
But when I looked with God's eyes—only God I saw.
I passed away into nothingness, I vanished,
And lo, I was the All-living—only God I saw".
(Cf. Transl. Nicholson in "*Eastern Poetry and Prose*", p. 101).

Here the mystical experience is not, as al-Ḥallāj, 'Irāqī and others saw it, a real transformation or assimilation of the human soul to God. It is simply the affirmation of a unity which has always been and which will always be, a naked identity of pure being with itself. And therefore it leads not to the transfiguration of the soul, but to its disintegration and annihilation. We find this pantheistic ecstasy as characteristic of later ṣūfism. Thus in 'Aṭṭār's allegory of the *Quest of the Simurgh*, even in the *Mathnawī* of Rūmī, in the *Jusuf and Zuleika* of Jāmī and very clearly in these lines of Jītī:

I am the existent and the non-existent, and the naughted and the everlasting.
I am the avowed and the imagined and the snake and the charmer.
I am the loosed and the bound, and the wine and the cup-bearer.
I am the treasure, I am poverty, I am my creatures and my Creator.
(Cf. Nicholson "*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*", p. 90).

It is true that the genuine mystic often uses language which is practically very much the same as that of this kind of gnostic, but the similarities of expression cover a profound difference of moral attitude and theological doctrine. As in Christianity, the real and sound mysticism in Islam in people as we have seen before of the type of 'Irāqī is nothing but the experimental realisation and personal appropriation of the new relationship of mankind to God as in Christianity it is involved in the Incarnation and as in Islam where man in himself is pure, without original sin and therefore not in need of divine redemption, in the special graces of love bestowed by God on man.

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After having characterised some of the tendencies in muslim mysticism it will be easier to understand and to value at its real worth the greatness but also the shortcomings in the mystical teachings of Avicenna. This teaching will prove to be of a quite different order than the one of the

foregoing examples. Even though approaching Bisṭāmī's position in some points it differs however from his through the lack of antinomian tendencies and by the fact that it upholds fully the religious laws and practices of Islam. Though the teaching of Avicenna was certainly very much influenced by Platonism and neo-Platonism and most of all by his predecessor al-Fārābī it is yet a personal evaluation of mysticism which causes our admiration first of all because it so homogeneously crowns the whole teaching of Avicenna's philosophy and secondly because it contains characteristic teachings so very much his own.

According to Ibn Sīnā the aim of the mystic is the ma'rifat Allah. It is not without great significance that he gives it this name, because knowledge indeed assumes great preponderance in his system even though from his "*Risāla fi'l 'ishq*" it may be clear that the whole ascent of man towards the knowledge of God which is seen as the counterpart to the descent from God to man, is a natural desire and a natural love which is born in man and present in him with the same necessity as the whole system of emanation from God is not a free creation but a production and emanation according to a determined monism of existence and being. Each being possesses this natural desire by which it is driven to aspire to the higher principle of its perfection "It is therefore evident, Avicenna says, that each being must be animated by this natural desire (*ṭabī'ī*) and gifted with an inborn love (*gharīzī*), as this love is the necessary cause of its existence". (Cf. *Risāla fi'l-'Ishq*, p. 2 ; trad. Mehren, glose, p. 1). This fundamental and ontological love which is, in itself, as wide as the transcendental good to which it strives, works blindly in the beings not endowed with reason but is willed and deliberate in the reasonable beings. So matter desires and loves the form, the accident strives after the substance, each and everyone of the creatures shares in this "*élan vital*". By this innate love each being affected with imperfection first of all desires after the principle of perfection most near to it. But from this nearest principle it does not cease to blindly follow the chains of participated perfections and ascent from principle to principle till it reaches the supreme principle, the supreme good which is absolute perfection. These dialectics of the *'ishq* (love) is the universal principle of all movement. The double movement which we find in the cosmos, the ontological descent from God by necessary emanation and the return or ascent of the creature in a movement of love towards God, these are the foundations from which indeed the highest spiritual doctrine can be evolved—short however of real mysticism unless . . . unless the chain of necessary being is broken and unless this monistic conception of being is changed into that of analogical being between God and man.

This chain, however, Avicenna does not break and that falsifies his doctrine through inherent monism. But there is yet another reason by which this doctrine is corrupted. In order to understand it better we will

have to dig deeper into the meaning of his words: that the mystical experience is the *ma'rifat Allah.* Then it will be clear that this fruition is not a gratuitous gift from God, but solely dependent on the human endeavour and secondly that what the mystics grasp in the encounter with the Truth is only God in so far as He is the truth of their own being.

As in all the other systems of mystical and ascetical theology man with his natural desire for God must cleanse his minds and his heart from all detachment. He must first by asceticism (*zuhd*) renounce all earthly goods, practise the prescribed duties of his religion (no antinomian tendencies here), as *'ābid* or devout applicant to the mystical path in order to become *'ārif,* a man who tends towards the First Truth for its own good and not for any personal motive. This stage is not reached but by different *maqamāt.* Thus says Avicenna: "The first step for the gnostic is called Will (*irāda*) which means certainty as to the Way. Through this the mystic will discipline his soul, through his faith and will direct it towards God, so that he may attain the joy of union. The second stage is that of self-discipline (*riyāḍa*), which is directed towards three things, removing all but God from the gnostic's choice, subduing his carnal soul to his rational soul, so that the imagination and the intellect shall be attracted to the higher things, not the lower, and making the conscience mindful of admonition". (Cf. Smith "*Readings from the Mystics of Islam*", p. 48). This stage of purification he must not intermit in order to free the soul from all sensible attachment to contingent beings and in order to free the inner inclinations of man from all passions and desires so that he may be able to sharpen and constrain his spiritual eye to the world of the intelligibles.

Except for the special emphasis on the intellectual character of this asceticism, everything sounds very much like the preparatory stages of the ordinary ṣūfī-teaching.

But from here the differences start. In order to understand them better we will first indicate in a few words the philosophical teaching of knowledge with which this mystical teaching forms a logical whole.

For Avicenna the human intellect is most of all receptive. The soul is indeed the form of the body, but, and here Avicenna was led astray by Platonism, the body is nothing else but an instrument (*āla*) of the soul (Cf. *Ishārāt,* ed. Forget, p. 176 etc.). The union with the body is profitable to the soul, but the body becomes, once this profit is gained, a cage and a prison. The soul itself is a spirit, though at the lowest stage of the hierarchy of the spirits. Its nature however postulates that it should not be united to the body. We may remember here all the difficulty Avicenna had to maintain the Qur'ānic dogma of the resurrection of the body. According to him the nature of the soul postulates that it should be united to the world of the separated spirits to which it justly and rightly belongs.

The consequence is that in opposition to Aristotelic and Thomistic teachings, the basis for intellectual knowledge for the soul, whilst in the body, is not the knowledge as gained from the senses and from the exercise of its acts. Even while in the body the soul is not deprived of its direct auto-intellection as pure spirit. If the soul, while still in the body, purifies itself from all the attachments to corporal things and is able to transcend them, it is not only able to reach itself as pure subject of being, but also to know itself in its intelligible substances. The soul is receptive in that it communes with the active intellect in *ishrāq*, with the *'aql fa'āl* or the *"dator formarum"* from the Middle Ages. This active intellect is the last of ten of the separated intellects which in the act of emanation have originated from God. From each of these intellects flowed in their turn a subsequent intellect till at last the tenth was reached, the last of these ten separated intellects, which is the active intellect and which governs the sub-lunar world, the world of corruption and generation. The only thing in this sub-lunar world which is not corruptible is the human soul whose aim it is to free itself from the encumbrances of the body in order to be able to live freely the life of its real nature. In order to do that the soul must unite (*ittisāl*) with the Active Intellect. The more it gets used to this *ittiṣāl* with the Active Intellect, the more it will penetrate in the whole world of these separated intellects, which taken as a whole are the "Universal Intellect".

Once the soul moves freely in this union with the Universal Intellect and meetings (*wajd*) which at first last only for an instance (*waqt*) but slowly grow into a state of peaceful possession (*sakīna*), it lives from the pure intelligibles and receives, like these separated intellects do, the rays which directly come from the First Light, the Truth Itself, God. Real *'ārif* is he who has reached the highest stage in which he, according *to his own will*, can reach this superior knowledge. When the soul has no blemishes left and has become a polished and pure mirror and after it has first regarded now God and then itself, in the supreme delight of the *ma'rifat Allah* it is only God, the "Majesty of Holiness" Who holds its eye. This is the goal of the mystical life.

The fact which glares into our eyes is that the highest knowledge and beatitude of man is of the same nature as the usual human knowledge though pitched to a higher degree. The highest degree, this *ma'rifat Allah* consists therein that the mystic firstly sees in his own soul as in a mirror the intelligibles which are traces of the divine Truth, and further in the higher stage it perceives as reflected Object, God's Truth Itself. In the highest stage of all however of this *ma'rifat Allah* the soul even loses sight of the mirror (which is the soul itself) and perceives only the reflected divine Majesty. Even if he were to look at his own soul in this stage, he would only see it as reflecting and not as embellished by the reflection.

Then the union (*wuṣūl*) is fully realised. Thus are his own words: "Then the gnostic passes on to the stage of contemplating God in Himself: he is absent, yet present, he is departing, yet abiding. Then he turns to the world of Reality and his contemplation of God is stable and continuous, and when he passes from striving to attainment, his inmost soul becomes a polished mirror reflecting the face of God. Then he passes away from himself and contemplates only the Divine Glory and if he looks upon himself, it is only as the one contemplating, and when he has come to this, he has attained complete union with God". (Cf. Smith's *"Readings from the mystics of Islam"*, p. 48-9). This realisation, according to Avicenna, is the "highest delight" possible to the soul. The First Truth is grasped however at first not in Itself, but in the mirror of the soul once this is purified by mortification and detachment. It remains therefore a grasping of God which is direct, by means of the human soul as mirror: until in the highest stage it becomes somehow an indirect apprehension of God, which Avicenna himself calls: "immediate knowledge of Him" because the essence of the first truth is light as well as source of light so that the light of the Soul itself is a participation of the light of God. However, it is an intellectual contemplation quite of the same order as any other intellectual activity. And because it is such it is not, and it need not be a gratuitous gift from God, as every real mysticism should be, but it lies completely within the powers of man as long as he will take the trouble to purify his soul and to detach himself from anything else except God. Thus Avicenna says this clearly: "It is the Essence of the First Being, which is the cause of his manifestation to the intelligible beings. But this *tajallī*, this shining forth, is necessary in regard to each being which is disposed to receive it, a necessity which results from the *tajallī* itself while the receiver contributes nothing but by his disposition and preparation". (Cf. Commentary on the *Theologia Aristotelis*. Rev. Thomiste, July 1951). Thus he says elsewhere: "But the *'ārif'* have stripped off the veils of their bodies and have devoted themselves to concern with God . . . the soul then has reached the light of the Sun and is able to receive the Divine Illumination *when it wills*, free from all worldly distraction, until it is wholly sanctified." (Cf. Smith's *"Readings from the Mystics of Islam"*, p. 47).

Therefore as soon as a soul has purified itself—and each soul has the power to do so—the First Being *cannot* but reflect Itself in this soul after it has become like a polished mirror, as Avicenna says: "He (God) is hidden only from those who are veiled by shortcomings and weaknesses and defects". (Cf. *"Readings from the Mystics of Islam"*, p. 47).

Concluding this part on Avicenna we may say that however beautiful his doctrine is as a philosophy, however high his conception of the *ma'rifat Allah*, it is a natural knowledge of God. His natural knowledge of God can lead to the direct knowledge of God Himself and to fruition of Him only

because Avicenna teaches a monistic order of being. In a monistic order of being, indeed, there is no room for a distinction between the natural and supernatural and his reasoning as a philosopher is therefore very stringent and logical. But it remains a philosophy, an intellectual system, which may be beautiful in thought and elaboration but which is false to the reality of things. And being false to the reality of things it may be as attractive as a system of Hegel in his idealism, it certainly can never be the basis for mystical life. Mysticism is to live God more and more completely in order finally to be taken up in His loving care ; mysticism is most of all active submission and love as a preparation which may invite God to overload us with His grace and His love ; it is life and not first of all thought and knowledge, and as life it is knowledge and love combined in action.

The teaching of Avicenna represents the highest that a philosopher may achieve in his thirst for the knowledge of God. But philosophy in these matters has not got the last word. While in other points of his teaching Avicenna was guided by his Islamic faith about God, in his mystical teaching he cut himself adrift from this belief in the transcendental God and therefore from the reality of things.

Because since God has revealed to man truths as to the nature of His Being, the state in which man lives is a revealed state, so that each philosophy should be a philosophy of revelation and in questions connected with religion should therefore be theology. Adhering to monism and cutting himself therefore loose from the reality of being, Avicenna's mystical teaching hangs in the air and cannot suffice how very beautiful it otherwise may be.

Comparing his doctrine with the other Muslim mystics we may say that in opposition to Avicenna they took the reality of God's transcendental being as the starting point for their mystical life and for the teaching about it. They saw that man left to his own power cannot reach God unless aided by His grace, a grace they could only hope to receive after preparing their soul in a life of humble obedience and loving aspiration. This wisdom of mind and this love of the heart combined, even though it could not make them worthy and centainly not exigent of God's unmerited grace, at least filled their heart with a trust that God would do more.

The Islamic system does not, as does Christianity in its Trinitarian doctrine, explain the mystery of God as a mystery of love and therefore does not explain the doctrine of sin in the same way as Christianity does; its acceptation of the *'natura pura'* doctrine, because denying original sin and Christ's redemption from sin, can therefore never offer an explanation why God favours one soul with graces which He denies to another. Notwithstanding those points we have been able in this lecture to mention some mystics of

Islam, who opposed to the monism of Avicenna have come very near to the mystical aspirations as we find in Christian mystics, namely in their total love for God together with a detachment of everything even of themselves, so that al-Ḥallāj could say:

> Thou Spirit has little by little mixed itself with my spirit
> and now I am Thyself ; Thy existence is mine.*

* *Lecture delivered at the Iran Society on Friday, the 22nd August, 1952.*

THE MILLENNIUM OF A GREAT MAN

By

HIS EXCELLENCY ALI ASGHAR HEKMAT

I MUST first of all thank Her Royal Highness the Shab-Dokht for organising the literary gathering. H. R. H. not only has a keen desire in helping the distressed and supporting the poor, and is, out of kindness of her heart, a leading figure in benevolent works, but she also has a special interest in literature. The great attention she pays to literary matters is indeed a great encouragement for learned people. That is why from some three years ago, she has turned her beautiful palace into a hearth for letters and a centre for art. It is in this auspicious and magnificent hall that each year a great deal of literary discussions take place.

Today, H. R. H. has ordered me to inaugurate this year's talks on the subject of the Millennium of a great man like Avicenna.

I am sure that my honourable audience will bear, out of respect to the command of our charming host, a great deal of patience in listening to such a tiresome talk as mine. My shortcomings will, however, be compensated by the respect due to the great man who is the subject of my talk. Our esteem for the great lady who is the instigator of this assembly will also be the apology for my audacity and the reward for the fatigue which you must suffer on my account.

The topic of my discussion today is in memoriam of a man of universal fame whose birth happened one thousand years ago. During the ten centuries which have elapsed from that day, his glorious name has been remembered with veneration and respect not only in Persia, his own home, but all over the world. A man before whose unrivalled throne bowed many kings and princes. During these one thousand years, hundreds of mighty sovereigns ruled over the world whose names are forgotten and whose pomp are gone for ever. Nobody thinks of them today and nobody mentions their deeds, while the spiritual kingdom of this great man is spread in all its magnificence in East and West.

This man rules as the absolute Prince over the realms of philosophy and medicine from the 11th up to the 18th century. His works were taught in all the great colleges of Isphahan, Delhi, Baghdad, Cairo, Morocco, and were translated into many languages and studied in the famous universities of Europe from Oxford to Rome and from Louvain to Madrid. All through the long period of the Middle Ages as well as in the Renaissance, he was the loyal agent for the transportation of ideas between the Orient and the

Occident. Since he was the man who developed the Greek system of philosophy and sciences to the Islamic countries and it was through his wonderful writings that the Islamic culture and knowledge were transferred from Western and Central Asia to Europe and America, he has therefore a right to the just title of "La liaison entre l'Orient et l'Occident".

About 980 (370 after Hejira), a boy named "Hussein", grandson of Sīnā, a well-to-do state functionary, was born in the city of Bukhara, in Central Asia. Afterwards, he became known all over the world as Ibn Sīnā in Arabic, Pur-i-Sīnā in Persian and Avicenna in Latin.

The biography of this man reveals a series of manifestations of genius and a complete display of powerful mind.

At the age of ten, he was well acquainted with Religious Sciences and knew the holy Qor'ān by heart. As a youth of 16, he had a complete knowledge of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and medicine. He had memorised the Metaphysics of Aristotle. At 17, he was so celebrated in medicine that he was called upon to attend and cure Nuh, son of Mansur, the Samanid Ruler of Bukhara, from a dangerous disease. As a reward, he asked the King to allow him the access to the Royal Library.

All through the 58 years of his life he spent his time in travelling to the great cities of Kharazm, Gorgan, Rey, Isphahan, and Hamadan, combating the difficulties of life, studying the great works of the age, teaching multitudes of pupils, writing about 200 books and treatises, and administering the state as a Vizir. He exerted such an enormous mental energy that his physical body could not endure for long the weight of his spiritual activity and his glorious life ended in 1037 (428 A. H.) He went ill in Hamadan where he died and was buried there in a well-known place.

His bodily remains were entered in that beautiful valley of Hamadan in the east of the Achemenian city of Ecbatan, but his celestial soul, according to his philosophy of "self" ascended to heaven. As he himself says in a beautiful *quaṣida* on the human soul:

> "..................................her star
> Setteth at length in a place from its rising far,
> Like a gleam of lightning which over the meadows shone,
> And, as though it ne'er had been, in a moment is gone."

فكانها برق تالق بالحمى　　　ثم انطوى فكانه لم يلمع

In those gloomy ages, when the analysis of atom had not been realised, he had split the atom of wisdom.

Among the Persian dynasties ruling at that time, two had particular connections with the life of our philosopher: first, the Samanids in Bukhara of whom the last sovereign, Nuh, son of Mansur, was the contemporary of his youth and to whose library he owes his learning. Second, the Buvaihides, the rulers of western Iran from whom the Prince Ala'udu Dowlé Kakuyêh, who had Isphahan as his capital, was Avicenna's patron in the last part of his life. To this Prince he acted as companion and it was due to his encouragement that he compiled most of his masterpieces in philosophy medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and natural sciences.

There are so many stories and anecdotes about the Sheikhul Rêïs which was Avicenna's title, and his powerful brain. These stories have been subject of an enormous amount of folklore and it is useless to spend our short time in relating them here. It suffices to mention here a small point about his charitable character. This is very fitting indeed since we are in the presence of a kind and philanthropic Princess who is the Honorary President of the Society of " Red lion and Sun ".

We read in his biography that his generosity was so great and his heart so full of tenderness for the needy, that during his life, on three occasions, he donated all his property to charity leaving nothing for himself. The last time he performed this act of benevolence was just before his death in Hamadan, when he realised that his body could no more resist the disease. He liberated all his slaves and gave all his wealth to the poor. Then he made his ablution and sat in prayer until the moment he breathed his last.

The great reputation of the " Rêïs-ul-Atteba ", the Dean of Physicians, his another title, was in the domains of medicine and philosophy. He did not play an important part in politics for he was not a successful minister ; some part of his later life he spent either in prison or in hiding. But even in those hard moments he did not waste his time and never forgot his studies ; and many books and treatises were compiled either in jail or in concealment.

As I told you, this great writer has written numerous books. Of his extant works, Brockelmann enumerates about a hundred, dealing with a variety of theological, philosophical, astronomical, medical and other scientific subjects.

His most celebrated work on medicine is *"Al-Kānoun"* which was used as a classic textbook in the middle ages, taught all over the world and in many languages. This masterpiece arrived in Spain about a 100 years after its compilation, and one of the Italian savants called, Gerard of Cremona (died in 1187), translated it into Latin. Later on, another Italian, who knew Arabic, rewrote it in Latin, and the Arabic text was printed for the first time in Rome in 1593.

In the realms of pholosophy, his important works are two:

(A) كتاب الشفا *"Book of Recovery,"* a magnificent work comprising logic, mathematics and metaphysics. The Book has in its substance the ideas

of Aristotle passed through the Neo-Platonic school of Alexandria, to which he wonderfully gave the colouring of Islamic theology and Iranian mysticism.

(B) كتاب النجات " *The Book of Salvation.*" It is relatively a smaller work containing chapters on logic, physics and metaphysics.

In his teachings, the ideas of Aristotle are very evident ; he explains why he has been considered as the most powerful factor in introducing the Greek philosophy to Asia.

Many of his biographers say that he was religiously a follower of the Ismaili sect. But it should be noticed that his position among the thinkers of Islam is beyond any special sectarianism. He is a man of personal research and a founder of an independent school of thought, and it is a great error to consider such a great man a mere imitator of the prevailing ideas of his contemporary sects. His careful and thorough studies in his early age on the *Isagoge* in Logics and the *Euclid* and the *Almagest* had already formed his brain and had given him a very developed system of thinking and a strong sense of research and observation. For everything even in the subjects of mysticism he always tries to go by the light of " reasoning ". So his school is taken as the highest form of Islamic philosophy and his books as the absolute authority on the matter.

Now, one word I must say of the language he employed. Avicenna, as all the learned men of his age, used principally Arabic as the instrument for his thoughts. Arabic at that time played in the Orient the analogous role of Latin in the Occident. It was the "language par excellence" of art, science religion and literature. Avicenna, too, used that language ; although he was never considered as a literary man with a masterly command of a foreign language, and his Arabic poems were not taken as first rate. He also wrote in his mother tongue, Persian. Some of his treatises written in Persian are pure, eloquent and clear. His famous work in Persian is called حکمت علائی or *"Danishnama"* dedicated to his great patron Ala'au-Dowla. In this short work, he summarised in a succinct manner all his philosophical systems with a view to making it comprehensible to the Persian Emir, rendering all the philosophic terms into appropriate Persian equivalents.

We now in Tehran have a Society for Preservation of National Monuments, namely انجمن آثار ملی . This Society is engaged in publishing in a detailed edition a complete collection of his Persian works.

Under the High Patronage of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah this Sociey is also occupied in erecting a monumental mausoleum on his tomb in Hamadan. This monument although very modest, considering the grandeur of the Great Sheikh-Râeis, is a solid and magnificent construction representing the force of his teachings and symbolising the durability of his

thought. We expect to celebrate his Millennium in May 1952, when the lovely season of spring provides the necessary conditions to receive the guests. Many eminent scholars of different countries have graciously promised to accept our invitation and come to our country and by their academic contributions serve in their turn to commemorate the lofty name of the great man.

Many countries in the world have likewise voluntarily planned from now to celebrate in one way or other, this great Millennium. I have to name here with thanks the Arab League. They have organised a special committee for this purpose, called لجنة ابن سينا . The Arab countries have decided to demonstrate their collaboration by organising a special function in Baghbad, the old capital of the Islamic civilisation. The Egyptian Government is publishing a new edition of Al-Shifa' on philosophy, and the Lebanese Government is planning to publish a new translation of Al-Isharat, كتاب الاشارات in French. In the 5th General Conference of the UNESCO held in Florence last June the Italians organised many academic lectures and in the plenary session of the Conference, a solemn homage was paid to his name and many speakers delivered worthy addresses in commemoration of the great thinker.

These signs of collaboration from all quarters prove that the great men belong to the human community. Those who have served the culture of the world have justly the right to be the citizens of the world. Avicenna. in his turn is a cosmopolitan figure ; an Iranian by blood and birth, born in a city of Central Asia and presenting the world with many glorious books in Arabic, diffusing the Greek philosophy and distributing the Islamic culture, belongs to all nations of the world.

The great Italian poet, Dante, in his *"La Divina Comedia"* gives a special place to him. Although not Christian in faith, our Muslim philosopher, has a respectable corner with two other great physicians: Hypocratus and Galen outside the Inferno. We, too, following the Italian Master must give him an eternal place in the Paradise of knowledge.

To terminate this talk, I want you to listen to one of his words, In a beautiful quatrain, Avicenna explains in his mother tongue the secret of creation, and the insignificance of human life. The lovely poem runs like this:

از قعر گل سیاه تا اوج زحل کردم همه مشکلات عالم را حل
بیرون جستم زقیدهر مکر و حیل هر بند گشوده شد مگر بند اجل

It is translated by a famous English Orientalist in the following way:

"I solved all problems, down from Saturn's wreath
Unto this lowly sphere of earth beneath,
And leapt out free from bounds of fraud and lies,
Yea, every knot was loosed, save that of death!"

Fitzgerald, considering wrongly the quatrain to be one of Omar Khayam's expresses the idea in the following manner, and I finish my talk in those beautiful words:

"Up from Earth's Centre through the Seventh Gate
I rose, and on the Throne of Saturn sate,
And many a knot unravelled by the Road,
But not the Master-Knot of Human Fate".*

**On Tuesday, the 2nd January, 1951 a literary gathering was held at the palace of Her Royal Highness Princess Shams Pahlavi, and His Excellency Ali Asghar Hekmat gave a talk on Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), the well-known Iranian Philosopher whose Millennium was celebrated during 1952.*

AVICENNA
His Life And Work

By

The Iranian National Commission for UNESCO, Tehran.

Introduction.

Before saying anything about Avicenna's life and work and their influence throughout the world, a few points may be explained in connection with the intellectual and social atmosphere in the 4th Century of Hejira (10th Century A.D.).

The 4th Century of Hejira is considered one of most fecund and important eras in the brilliant Islamic civilisation; because this period bore the fruits of Moslem activities and efforts made during the second and third centuries. The great Moslem scholars, like Mohammad Zakarria, Abu-Nasr Farabi, Abu-Raihan Biruni, Avicenna. Abu-Ali Meskuwaih, Abu-Hayyan Towhidi, Ibn-ul-Amid, teacher of Ismail ibn Abbad, and others of their category appeared, all Iranians who shone like brilliant stars in the firmament of the great civilisation of Islam.

Among the Islamic countries at that time, Iran particularly the provinces of Khorasan and Transoxania, enjoyed liberty more than any other place. These two provinces were ruled in that period by one of the best Iranian dynasties, the Samanids, who were well-known for their patriotism, for their encouragement of Iranian poets and writers, for their popularisation of Persian language, and for the support they gave the scholars. In their courts were to be found learned men from various communities and faiths, without, necessarily, being each other's rivals. The liberal-minded and tolerant Samanids did not deprive any scholar from such protection and support as he deserved; and this was quite contrary to what happened in Iran in the 5th century and thereafter. It was because of this freedom that scholars worked with peace of mind. It should be said with certainty that one of the important factors which helped to popularise knowledge and unprecedented scholarly influences was the encouragement shown by the kings of that period. It was during such epoch that Avicenna was born and brought up.

Another point need be mentioned in this connection concerning the eastern borders of Iran and the easternmost limit of the Iranian land and people at that time:

As we know the original place of the Persian race were the eastern banks of the River Oxus and the fertile lands of Kharazm, as well as few developed spots lying between the valleys of the rivers Oxus and Iaxartes. The Persian race began to emigrate towards the Iranian table-lands from those parts, without quitting them altogether. It is for this reason that the other side of the Transoxania bears Persian names, such as Samar-Kand, Xvâ-Kand, and so forth. Throughout the pre-Islamic period, i.e. the Achaemenid, Arsacid and Sassanid, the places already mentioned were originally inhabited by the Aryan race. In the post-Islamic period too, the same continued. Consequently, many Persian scholars whose names are recorded in history rose to prominence from both sides of the river Oxus.

Bokhara, the Samanid capital, is one. There, the people could not pray in Arabic; their prayers were in Persian. Here instructions were issued for the compilation of *Shah-Nameh,* the famous *"Book of Kings"* by Ferdowsi, depicting historic and heroic tales of Iran.

It is, therefore, quite clear now that Iran at that time was not limited to its present borders, but the name applied to the whole of the Persian table-land in every sense of the word; that is, from the point northeast, it ran upto Kharazm desert and lake, including the lands between the rivers Oxus and Iaxartes, the western lowlands of the Pamir plateau; and from the east it stretched as far as Sind. Avicenna was born in Khormethan, a district of Bokhara, the capital of the Iranian Samanid rule. The word "Khor" means "Sun" and "Maethana" means "Country", as mentioned in Avesta, which further proves that the appellation is Persian. In that village Abu-Ali Sina (Avicenna) was born from Iranian parents in 370 Hejira (980 A.D.).

A Short Biography

Avicenna's (Sheikh-ur-Ra'is Hujjat-ul-Haq Abu Ali Hussein Ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina) father was a native of Bokhara, who, at the time of Nuh-ibn-Mansur of the Samanid Dynasty, between the years 961 and 975 A.D., left for Bokhara and entered into public service. He was appointed to serve at the village of Xvarmaythan (one of the villages of Bokhara). Abdullah was later married to a woman from Afshana village, called Setareh, from whom Abu-Ali was born in 980 A.D.

Following Avicenna's birth Abdullah moved to Bokhara where he took abode, and sent his son to school. Avicenna had scarcely reached ten when he memorised the holy Qoran and learned many other things including arts.

Abu-Ali's father was a follower of the Isma'ilieh sect; and was fond of studying the book called, *'Ekhvan-us-Safa'*. Abu-Ali listened to the

philosophical discussions between his father and brother and many visitors on various subjects, such as reasoning and passion, and hence his interest in science. His father sent him to mathematicians to learn arithmetic.

It was at this time when Abu-Abdullah Ibrahim ibn Hussein Nately (Natel is one of the ancient towns in Mazandaran) came to Bokhara. He is one of the philosophers of the 4th century, and is said to have been expert in divine matters (theology) and has edited many books on Philosophy, including one on Natural Life, from which Abu-Raihan has quoted passages on page 83 of his book, entitled *Al-Athar-ul-Baghieh.* Another book on *'Existence and its Ways'* was compiled by him, which was owned and liked by Shahr-Zouri.

Before Nately came to Bokhara Abu-Ali used to study Islamic Jurisprudence near Isma'il, the Hermit. When Abu-Abdullah came to Bokhara, Abu-Ali's father provided him lodging in his house, but instead asked him to teach his son Philosophy. He taught Abu-Ali Logic and Euclid Geometry After solving six geometrical figures with the help of his teacher, Abu-Ali worked out the remainder by himself.

When Nately left for Gorganaj, Abu-Ali started to study the philosophical books by himself, understood and worked out most of them. Thereafter he strived for medicine, which, in his opinion, was not a difficult science to acquire. This was the reason why he soon completed his medical studies and mastered this science, so much so that many medical practitioners used to learn higher medicine from him and consult him in treating their patients. At this time Abu-Ali was only 16 years old. At this age he continued his studies of Islamic Jurisprudence. He also resumed the study of Logic and Philosophy and used to note down most philosophical propositions, comparing them with the rules of Logic; he spent one and half years on this work with very little rest during the nights until he acquired a thorough knowledge and systematic skill in Logic, Natural Sciences and Mathematics.

When he commenced to study Theology and solve Aristotle's Metaphysics with the aid of the treatises by Abu-Nasr Farabi on *'Aristotle's Metaphysics'* he was called to cure the prince Nuh-ibn-Mansur. After treating Amir-Nuh, Abu-Ali requested access to the big Samanid library, which contained rare books most of which were still untouched. The necessary permission was forthwith granted. Abu-Ali obtained valuable information from this library. He was 18 years old when he thoroughly completed the study of all the philosophical sciences.

Following Abu-Ali's study of these books, the Samanid library caught fire. His enemies spread the rumour that Abu-Ali had purposely set fire to this library in order to make himself unique in knowing the sciences explained in the said books. Abu-Ali's books, however, which contained all philosophical sciences were considered as substitute to this library.

After this, Abu-Ali set out to compile his numerous books. At this time he lost his father (1001 A.D.) and was subsequently called to attend to royal affairs in place of his father, until the state of confusion, which later prevailed in Transoxania made him move to Kharazm. Here he was welcomed by Abul Hussein Soheily, Vizir of Ali-ibn-Mansur, who induced him to continue the completion of his books. Abul Hussein Soheily was himself one of the scholars and men of letters of that age, who composed Arabic poems, some of which are kept on record in the book entitled *'Máj-ma-ul-Udaba*. In 1013 A.D. he relinquished his service with Kharazmshah Mamun-ibn-Mamun and left for Baghdad, where he lived there until 1027 A.D.

Abu-Ali spent few years of his life at the court of Kharazmshah Ali-ibn-Mamoun and Mamun-ibn-Mamun with peace of mind and tranquillity. There he was associated with Kharazm scholars, such as Abu-Raihan, Abu-Nasr ibn Araq and Soheil Simi.

About 1012 A.D. Abu-Ali Sina, for an unknown reason, left Kharazm. His departure from this place was probably due to lack of appreciation manifested by Kharazmshah to Abul Hussein Soheily, partisan and patron of learned men and scholars. The editor of the book *"Chahar Maqaleh"* attributes Abu-Ali's departure from Kharazm to fear of Mahmud. But Qazi Nurullah, in his book *"Majalis-ul-Mumeneen"*, ascribed this to religious reasons, since Abu-Ali was a Shi'ite while Mahmud was an orthodox Sunnite. He maintanis that Abu-Ali wished to go to Qabus who was a Shi'ite monarch. Apparently, however, Abu-Ali's interest in Qabus was not due to latter being an adherent of the Shi'ite sect, but because Qabus was a literary man and philosopher; so Abu-Ali decided to go to his court.

But at the time when Abu-Ali was making preparations to proceed to Gorgan, news reached him that Qabus had been imprisoned and killed. He was compelled then to return to Dehestan, where he fell ill for some time. Upon recovery he left for Gorgan near the Caspian.

When at Gorgan, one of the outstanding personalities of this town, a man-of-letters, hired a house near his own for Abu-Ali and took good care of him. At this time Abu-Ubeid of Gorgan joined Abu-Ali and induced him to compile and edit his works.

As one could gather from the preamble of al-Shafa, in Gorgan too, Abu-Ali was engaged in public service and had very little time to write and teach.

Among the many books which Abu-Ali edited at Gorgan, the most influential are his *Canon of Medicine* as well as several other treatises in the name of Abu-Mahmud of Shiraz. The preamble of these treatises show that

before coming to Gorgan Abu-Ali suffered many hardships of which he was somewhat eased by Abu Mahmud Shirazi.

From Gorgan Abu-Ali went to Rey, where he served Majid-ul-Dowleh and his mother Zubeideh. He cured Majid-ul-Dowleh from rash, and later proceeded to Qazvin and Hamadan. Here he was called to cure Shams-ul-Dowleh, son of Fakhr-ul-Dowleh, Governor General of Hamadan, from a dangerous disease. After this, Shams-ul-Dowleh greatly respected Abu-Ali inasmuch as he was asked to attend the Governor in all his journeys. Between 1014 and 1020 A.D. Abu-Ali occupied the office of vizier to Shams-ul-Dowleh.

The Kingdom of Al-Bouyeh being weak at this time, the soldiery mutinied against their nominal sovereign, Shams-ul-Dowleh, plundered Abu-Ali's house and demanded that he should be put to death. Abu-Ali managed, however, to hide himself and to compile his books, until after 40 days an attack of illness induced the Amir to call him for treatment and, according to some reports, to restore him to his post.

In 1021 Fakhr-ul-Dowleh died and his son Sama-ul-Dowleh succeeded him. At this time, Abu-Ali was seized and imprisoned at Foroujan fort for four months. While in prison, he compiled a number of his books.

In 1024 Ala-ud-Douleh Abu-Jafar Kakwyeh, the Delamite ruler of Isfahan, with whom Abu-Ali was accused of holding correspondence and for which reason he was imprisoned, captured Hamadan. Taj-ul-Mulk and Sama-ul-Dowleh managed to escape, but Avicenna joined him as physician and general literary and scientific adviser. On his return journey to Isfahan, Ala-ud-Dowleh asked Abu-Ali to accompany him making very alluring promises. But knowing that these promises were far from being fulfilled, Avicenna secretly sought his way back to Isfahan.

From his numerous treatises one can gather that Abu-Ali experienced a good deal of trouble in Hamadan, chiefly at the hands of people of literary disposition.

The exact date of Abu-Ali's departure for Isfahan is not known, but it must have been some time after 1023 A.D.

Abu-Ali lived for some years at the court of Abu-Jafar Kakuyeh free from care, and found some leisure time to write. Abu-Jafar arranged for a meeting of learned men on every Thursday evening and would ask them to hold a debate with Avicenna.

Among many accomplishments of Abu-Ali was an observatory which he constructed in eight years at the request of Ala-ud-Dowleh. He was assisted in this undertaking by Abu-Ubeid Gorgani.

Abu-Ali escorted Ala-ud-Dowleh in all his journeys, including the Khorassan camaign in 1031 A.D. In this campaign he was attacked by a severe

colic. In order to continue marching with the army Abu-Ali took some very strong doses of medicine. As a result his health deteriorated, and he was unable to attend properly to the affairs entrusted to him. At last, due to a secret grudge entertained against him by certain physicians and by his own servants and owing to his negligence in taking medicine, he died in Hamadan, in June 1037, at the age of 58, and was buried there.

The Importance of Avicenna in Islamic Civilisation.

Abu-Ali was such a genius that he learned in no time when he was so young all knowledge that had been acquired by others after considerable effort and pain and succeeded in understanding so accurately the real significance of things. He acquired all knowledge connected with philosophy in such a way that his accomplishments in old age never differed from those of his youth—the time of whims and fancies and disturbances of thought. When young, his scholarly ideas were as mature as old men. It is for this reason that it has been contended that Avicenna's brain was created by philosophy; or rather, in other words, it was his brain which brought philosophy into being.

His intelligence and wit were extremely powerful. His rare skill in diagnostics has not been excelled by anyone even today with all modern equipments.

Avicenna was the most moderate among the peripatetic philosophers. His methods are nearer to logic and truth than all others. Avicenna was a hard-working man.

Abu Obaid relates:

When the book "*Najat*" was sent to Shiraz scholars there found errors in it, which they noted down and sent to Avicenna through Abul Qassem Kermani.

The letter was received at a time at about sunset. Avicenna passed the night with Abu Obaid, "It was not yet morning" he says "when Avicenna sent for me. I found him seated in place of prayer. He handed over to me the answer to the questions which he had written down on 50 sheets".

Again according to Abu Obaid, Avicenna wrote down the books of *Theology and Natural Philosophy* aside from his book on *Flora and Fauna* in a short time and without referring to any book. Today, the same amount of work, which Avicenna had undertaken in a short time cannot be read and understood in less than two years. This is another example of his power to memorise things.

There is no doubt that Avicenna is one of the great philosophers of Islam, who pondered on Aristotle's philosophy, without knowing Greek, or Latin.

making use of what incomplete translations he could obtain and appraised it in such a manner as it annulled the older works on the subject, and his books replaced those of Aristotle. Avicenna's contemporaries, as well as later scholars, admitted his mastery of Aristotle's teachings, and always sought his philosophical opinion which they considered conclusive.

Among the Muslim philosophers, Ghazali, says, in the introduction to his book *"Tahafut-ul-Falasafeh"*:

The translations made from the books of Aristotle are not free from disputed alterations and changes which need comment and conjecture. The greatest philosophers of Islam are Farabi and Avicenna, and for this reason we shall reject whatever they have chosen and considered as correct; and it is for this reason that a number of those occupied with philosophical researches believe that Ghazali wrote his *"Tahafut"* merely to reject the views of Avicenna and his lofty position.

Similarly, Muhammad Abdul Karim Shahrestani, in his book *"Al-Musara'a (Wrestle)*, dealing with those differences, which has been translated into Persian, says:

It is unanimously agreed that Avicenna is paramount in the science of medicine and unequalled; and whoever understands the meaning of what Avicenna said, has reached the height of philosophy.

Besides philosophy Avicenna was highly skilled in medicine; his book called *"Canon"*, has abrogated all previous works and teachings. He did not follow the examples of others in medicine; he had his own ideas and experiences in the treatment of diseases which he recorded in his *Canon* or in the form of *memoirs*. Abu Obaid says they have disappeared.

Some people think that Avicenna imitated Aristotle entirely, particularly in Logic. This is not true. Avicenna had his own philosophical views, which he recorded in his book *"Hikmat-ul-Mashriqieh"* (*The Oriental Wisdom*). He did not try to reject the thoughts of Aristotle's disciples; on the contrary, he confirmed them as far as he could. His successor, Nasirud-din-Tusi, in his books on *the views of the Platonic or Peripatetic philosophers*, imitated Avicenna's. This was perhaps because Avicenna believed that philosophical facts should not be revealed as recommended in his book *"Isharat"*, except to those who appreciate them.

From teaching point of view, Avicenna resembled Aristotle very much. Unlike Indian philosophers, who believe that elevation of the soul can be achieved by the destruction of the body, as it is also claimed by certain mystics, Avicenna thorougly enjoyed both his physical and intellectual forces.

The Works of Avicenna.

His Works in Persian

(*a*) *The Book of Knowledge or Ala'i's Wisdom.* Some have recorded the name of this book as *"Daneshnameh-Stock of Wisdom"* and have considered it as part of Ala'i's Wisdom. But the more correct contention is that *Daneshnameh and Hekmat Ala'i* are one and the same book. It was written for and in the name of Ala-ud-Dowleh of Kakuyeh. In this work Avicenna attempted to discuss all aspects of philosophy in the Persian language: but he did not succeed in more than logic, theology, and natural sciences. This book is considered among the best works of Avicenna, and does not differ very much from his book in Arabic, *Najat* (*Deliverance*). Avicenna's principal aim in this book was to convert philosophical terms from Arabic into Persian. Avicenna's disciple and pupil, Bahmanyar, has written a commentary, including the objections raised, and the reply given by Avicenna. It is called *"Tahseel—Learning"*.

The book *"Daneshnameh"* was compiled in the name of Ala-ud-Dowleh of Kakuyeh, to whom Avicenna pays high tribute for his good education and kindness, saying "to him I owe all my success". Some believe that *Daneshnaneh* was the last book written by Avicenna, because Abu Obaid-e Jurjani has added to it the mathematical section. This, however, is no reason. An author may start a work, then leave it for some time, and later finish the remaining part. Historians also reject the contention that the book *"Isharat"* is Avicenna's last book.

(*b*) *Resaleh Me'rajieh* (*Ascension Thesis*). This has been also written in the name of Abu Ja'far of Kakuyeh, and includes the interpretation of theological terms, such as the Holy Ghost, Revelation, the Word of God, Prophecy, Message, and Law. Following a discussion on the power of man in the preface, Avicenna tries to prove in the end that the direction of movement must conform to the motive force and movement, and infers that the ascension was spiritual. The great mystic poet, Mowlavi, seems to have been inspired by this conception, as it appears from some of his verses.

In the preface to the book Avicenna again recommends that these secrets should not be revealed and states that until he found himself in the presence of Ala-ud-Dowleh he refrained from announcing these views to avoid danger.

(*c*) *Resaleh Nubuwat* (*Book of Prophecy*): This is a short thesis in Persian explaining spiritual prophecy and revelation, most of which conform to the preface of the discourse on Ascension. Even the differences in phraseology are few.

(*d*) *Resaleh Nabzieh* (*Thesis on Pulse*): Written in the name of Anzudeddin Ala-ud-Dowleh of Kakuyeh, in which he has explained the various kinds

of pulse and pulsation. He has no other thesis in Persian, which historians have mentioned.

The Arabic Books.

(*a*) *Al-Shifa'* (*literally, "Book of Recovery"*) is a huge work on all philosophical sciences, including, Logic, Mathematics, and Metaphysics. It may be considered among the best of Islamic works on Philosophy.

According to Abu-Obaid, this book was begun in Hamadan, and, at his request, Avicenna first wrote 20 sheets of Metaphysics; then, owing to official engagements, he stopped writing for some time. After leaving the post of Vizier to Sham-ul-Dowleh, he compiled his Metaphysics, together with his book of *Flora and Fauna,* in 20 days, without referring to any source. Later, he started the *Mantiq-ul-Shafa'* (*Logic*) which took him a long time before it was completed in Isfahan. There again he wrote the book of *Flora and Fauna.*

Abu-Obaid holds that Avicenna completed his book *Al-Shifa'* when he was only 40; this is not, however, correct. Because, Avicenna himself has said that he was 32 in the year 1013 A.D. Therefore, *Al-Shifa'* must have been completed by 1021 A.D. At this time, Avicenna was not in Isfahan; he was still living in Hamadan. Avicenna condensed and summarised Mathematics before starting *Al-Shifa'*. He wrote this book to explain the beliefs and thoughts of the Peripatetic Philosophers, particularly, in *Flora and Fauna,* he has corrected translations of Aristotle's books, which he included afterwards in *Al-Shifa'*. Nevertheless, in the books of *Logic and Metaphysics,* Avicenna introduced his own experiences and opinions.

The music of *Al-Shifa',* reflects his own opinions after very careful studies. He has further written what he called "*Lawahiq*" (*Additions*) and recorded their dates each year, which seem to be the lengthiest of Avicenna's books; there he has explained, at length, philosophical thoughts and sayings; but this book has disappeared. In the preface to *Al-Shifa',* Avicenna relates that his object in writing the book was to collect the gist of the knowledge of the ancients, make a record of their problems and solve them, to summarise sentences to avoid repeating a subject, and to refrain from recording the views of the ancients which are obviously untrue. Avicenna believed that whatever existed in the books of the ancients, has been recorded in *Al-Shifa',* with the only difference that he changed the places of the words, putting them where he thought as more suitable. Avicenna says that he first wrote Logic, then Physics, Mathematics, and finally Metaphysics. But as it has been already mentioned, Abu-Obaid believed that Avicenna first began with Physics.

Modern writers have added annotations on the Metaphysics of *Al-Shifa',* among them are Mulla Awlia, and Mulla Sulaiman; the comments of Mulla



The Soviet Russian editions of Avicenna's writings form part of a special collection of the Lenin State Library of the U. S. S. R.

By Courtesy of the 'Soviet Union' of August, 1952.

Sadra of Shiraz, the most detailed and important annotations on the Metaphysics of *Al-Shifa'* deserve special mention. In the book of Physics of *Al-Shifa'*, no important marginal notes have been added. It is only in the first part, namely the *Book of Sama' Tabi'i* (*Natural Sciences*), or as the Greeks called it, (*"Physics Akroasis"*), Agha Jamal Khunsari has written a short marginal note, and the rest remained without comments and explanatory notes; the reason being that later writers gave less attention to the science of flora and fauna and more to metaphysics.

The Physics of *Al-Shifa'* became a book of reference for all Islamic writers on Physics; and it can be asserted that they added nothing new. Their only research was in connection with the book *Sama' Tabi'i,* without adding anything to meteorology, nor to the kingdoms of animals and plants. They have in fact removed these from their own books.

The logic of *Al-Shifa',* which is considered the most detailed work of Islam on Logic, received attention from all philosophers, and no other book has been written on the art of argumentation with so much explanation copied or translated by later writers. In spite of the fact that later writers exceed all bounds in dealing with propositions and the fire predicables or the universal predicates of the Aristotelian Logic, still they have not been able to reach Avicenna's standard; consequently, their dissertations merely consists of detailed marginal notes.

Nasirud-din Tusi has made us great of *Montiq-ul-Shafa* in his book in Persian called *Asas-ul-Iqtibas* (*literally, the Basis of Adaptation*), which may be considered as a translation of the logic of *Al-Shifa'*.

(*b*) *Book of Najat* (*Literally, Salvation*). This is a small volume containing chapters on Logic, Physics, and Metaphysics, most of which deal with the views of Peripatetic Philosophers, in précis. For this reason, it widely differs from the other works of Avicenna particularly, his *Al-Shifa'*; with the result that some contemporaries thought that the book *Al-Najat* is an abridgement of *Al-Shifa'*; the logic of *Al-Najat* had been written at Jurjan, under the title of *Al-Mukhtasar-ul-Awsat* ; moreover, the subjects discussed are not in the same order as of *Al-Shifa'*.

Al-Najat includes a section on Mathematics, which is not popular. The Logic of *Al-Najat* is considered a masterpiece of diction, almost a miracle in elegance of style and beauty of language.

(*c*) *The book "Al-Isharat wal Tanbihat"* (*literally, Gestures and Warnings*) is a short one dealing with Logic, Physics, and Metaphysics, and seems to be Avicenna's last work. For this reason, this book comprised laconically his beliefs and ideas. At the end of it, Avicenna recommends that the book should not be shown except to learned men. Mysticism has been dealt with

upto a certain limit, especially in the end where he has spoken about the position of mystics. Its phraseology differes from those of Avicenna's other works; because, in this book, literary considerations have been taken into account as well.

Moreover, in this book Avicenna has looked down on some of the Peripatetic heads. Being the last of Avicenna's books, more attention has been paid to it by later scholars and philosophers, who have written many annotations in Persian and Arabic on it. Among them may be cited Shaha-bud-din Sohrawardi, who has written a comment in Persian. There is today a translation of *Al-Isharat,* which is attributed by some people to the well-known Iranian poet, Anwari; but so far the attesting document has not been traced. Among the Arabic notes are annotations by Fakhrud-din Razi, who opposed the view of Avicenna and tried to reject them, in his own opinion. Nasir-ud-din Tusi, a supporter of Avicenna, has written notes on *Al-Isharat,* criticising and rejecting most of the views expressed by Fakhrud-din Razi. He did his best to uphold Avicenna's ideas opposing none, except in regard to the question of the "Knowledge of God" about which he says "when I reached that subject, I could not refrain from disagreeing".

Nasir-ud-din's comments on the *Al-Isharat* is more popular than that of Imam of Fakhrud-din Razi, for which reason it was taken as text book for students.

(*d*) *The book Hikmat-ul-Mashriqiyeh or Hikmat-ul-Mashriqiyeeh* (*Oriental Wisdom or the Wisdom of Orientals*), which has been referred to among Avicenna's works, portrayed his personal opinions; and it has, apparently, disappeared. Only a few chapters dealing with Logic are available. It was Avicenna's idea in producing this work to deal with philosophical subjects regardless of Aristotle or his disciples. At the end of *Al-Shifa'* Avicenna refers to Aristotle's request that whoever could add anything to his principles of logic he should not refrain from doing so. Avicenna says no one has added anything to Aristotle's principles and no one has rejected any of them. Nevertheless, Avicenna has admitted elsewhere in this book that he did not introduce certain additions to logic. At the start he says "my application in research work led me to write without being influenced by caprice, habit of mind, fear of opposition by the supporters of Greek books, to which they were accustomed because of oversight and little understanding. I objected to Peripatetic views that the blessings of God had reached Aristotle's disciples only. Although, I am conscious of the great intelligence and superiority of Aristotle, I also believe that it behoves those who come after Aristole to explain his mistakes and correct his errors in science. Aristotle's followers, however, have been known for fanaticism, and if they thought they were mistaken themselves and any attempt at correction and addition was unnecessary. But, when we began to learn we understood easily whatever was necessary. It is quite probable that knowledge from other

than Greek sources had reached us. When we were occupied with acquiring Greek learning, we were young, and we quickly understood and taught word for word. But as the students of philosophy considered themselves disciples of the Peripatetic Philosophers, we did not disagree with the general tendency; we even showed adherence to the Peripatetics, and completed their theories which they were unable to explain. Besides, we corrected their errors and found excuses for each one, although we know that they were false.

"We overlooked most of the errors. The theories with which we disagreed were those which were impossible to overlook. This was because certain problems had become established facts and truisms for the people, in which they did not have the least modicums of doubt. While some of those problems were so deep that our contemporaries could not understand them; because, they are like sticks, lacking reason and understanding; they think it is an undesirable innovation to ponder over such problems and a sort of heresy to contradict what has become so popular.

It is for this reason that we refrained from writing such facts which would have led to fanatical agitations.

From beginning to end, friends know to what extent we carried research in scientific problems; and as this was the state of things, we were obliged to write a book, comprising the principal problems of real science, and record only those facts which have been discovered after considerable thought. Therefore, we wrote this book for ourselves only. I say "we" and I mean those who agree with me. But in the book, *Al-Shifa'*, I have written what the people liked. We shall write more in this connection in the *Lawahiq* (*Additions*)."

The book, *Mantiqul-Mashriqiyyeen*, which exists today, by far differs from other works of Avicenna. Especially in the chapters dealing with propositions, Avicenna has expressed views and made deep studies. As to definitions Avicenna has written more at length and nearer to facts, very much like those of today, not to be found in other books on Logic.

(*e*) *Canon*: The most important book of Islam on medical science. This comprises five parts: the first deals with general principles of medicine, like hygiene and symptomatology as a whole. The second part speaks of medical compounds, known as "Qarabadeen" (therapeutics).

The third deals with general Pathology. The fourth discusses diseases peculiar to individual parts and organs. The fifth part deals with Materia Medica.

Avicenna wrote some of his own experiences. But most of his notes have disappeared.

From a scientific point of view, Avicenna's *Canon* is much preferred to his other works. In this book, Avicenna tried to define all medical terms logically, and also made a logical classification. For this reason *Canon* is a difficult book and aroused considerable attention by scholars, who have written many comments. Not every scholar considered himself able to teach the *Canon*. Students could not read this book with any. teacher. Those who taught *Canon* were unable to understand most of it. Among them is Qutbud-din of Shiraz, who referred to many masters to learn the book, and yet he was unable to solve its difficulties, until, as he has recorded, he had the honour to be received by Nasirud-din. He says Khajeh Nasirud-din did not practise medicine and was unable to teach *Canon* properly. Finally, Qutbud-din met a learned medical man in Egypt, where he was able to obtain commentaries. It was then that he began to understand the problems of the *Canon*. After all the troubles which he undertook, he was able to write a most important commentary on the general principles of the extensive comments on the book, among whom may be cited Ibn Qaf, the Christian, and Mulla Ali Guilani. As previously stated, *Canon* does not differ much from Kamil-ul-Sana's *Complete Art* as far as the principal matters are concerned. It appears that Avicenna made good use of the latter book when writing his *Canon*.

(*f*) *The Book Ta'Liqaat*: This includes briefly all philosophical problems, written as notes; hence the appellation Ta'liqaat.

(*g*) *The book of Mabda wa Ma'ad* (*Origin and Resurrection*): Written in the name of Abi Ahmad Muhammad bin Ibrahim in Persian comprising the results of two sciences: Metaphysics and Physics. He says that his object in producing this book is to expose what the Peripatetics tried to conceal, explain whatever was difficult to understand and develop what was too laconic. The book discusses briefly everything that deals with Physics and Metaphysics; the style is very good, almost unequalled in most of the books written by Avicenna. He wrote another book with the same title in the name of Abul Hussain Soheily, which has not as yet been seen.

(*h*) *Resaleh Faiz Ilahi* (*Treatise of Divine Blessing*): This treatise traces the source of inspiration and revelation, miracle, magic and the like. Here the differences between revelation, miracle, and magic, are shown. Part of it deals with the influence of spirit upon other spirits or on the physical world. He believes that after fortifying his spirit and will, a man may become the source of many outside influences.

(*i*) *Treatise of Salaman wa Absal* (*Solomon and Absalom*): This has been referred to in the book *Al-Isharat*, the story of which has been recorded by Nasirud-din in various ways. It has been versified by the great poet Jami.

(*j*) *Treatise Al-Tair* (*Bird*). It deals with perfection of soul and the return of minor souls to the universal spirit. This has been versified by Shaikh Attar in a book entitled *Mantiq-ul-Tair* (*The Logic of Bird*).

(*k*) *Treatise of Hayy Ibn Yaqdhaan,* also called Yaqtaan; but presumably the correct appellation is "Yaqdhaan."

(*l*) *Uyun-ul-Hikmat,* which has been commented upon by Mulla Fakhr-ud-din Razi.

Avicenna has written many other books and treatises in Arabic, as mentioned in the treatise of Abu Obaid and the books of history. Verses in Arabic and Persian have been attributed to Avicenna. It seems, however, that some of the attributions are not true. The poem on soul, commonly called the *Qasidah Ainiyeh,* because it rhymes with the letter "ain" (a), seems to belong to Avicenna. He also wrote a *dictionary*; but this did not go beyond the stage of personal notes, which have disappeared.

The Millennium of Avicenna.

The year 1370 (corresponding to 1950 A.D.) coincides with the Millennium of Avicenna. The Iranian National Commission for UNESCO and the Society for National Monuments are collaborating with a view to celebrating the one thousandth anniversary of this great Persian philosopher and the most famous medical scientist. The steps are briefly as follows:

1. *Erection of a Mausoleum*: In order to build a mausoleum worthy of Avicenna's dignity, the Society for National Monuments invited the civil engineers and experts to draw the plan of the mausoleum. The best plan was selected, approved, and adopted. The monument should be completed before July 1951.

2. *Commemorating Stamps*: The Society for National Monuments decided several years ago to issue the following five series of stamps comprising historical relics of Iran, head-portrait of Avicenna, as well as his new and old monuments:

1st series Achaemenid Period
2nd ,, Sassanid ,,
3rd ,, Seljuks ,,
4th ,, Mongols, Teimurid and present periods.
5th ,, Two figures from Avicenna's new and old tombs, and perspective view of Hamadan.

The first four series are ready for sale, and the last one is in the press.

3. ***Publishing the Persian Books and Treatises of the great philosopher***: To commemorate the one thousandth anniversary of Avicenna, the Society for

National Monuments agreed to prepare the Persian treatises of Avicenna for publication. To this end a commission called the "Commission for Avicenna's Publications and Treatises" was formed. A contract was concluded between the Commission and a group of competent authors to publish twelve Persian treatises of Avicenna. Under this contract these treatises should be delivered to the Secretariat of the Society for National Monuments in proper shape for publication as soon as possible. The "*Judyiah*" treatise (*Ressalat-ul-Judiyiah*) as well as the treatise on Logic (*Ressalat-ul-Mantiq*) are now in the press, while the treatise on Psychology is ready to go to the press. An introduction consisting of a biographical sketch and the events which occurred during the life of this great philosopher as well as a brief description of his doctrine will be written for each of these treatises.

The Persian and Arabic texts, as well as the French version of the treatises with a preamble, will be printed and distributed at the Millennium. The funds for meeting all these expenses have been made available to the Society by national contribution.

4. *Important steps are being taken in the sphere of publicity by way of preparing speeches, plays, radio-talks, etc.*

5. *One of the hospitals in Tehran has already been named after Avicenna. The Society for National Monuments has decided to name one of the big streets of the Capital (Tehran) after this great scholar on the occasion of the celebration. Two statues of Avicenna will be erected, one in Tehran and the other in Hamadan, his burial place.*

6. *To serve the world of science and culture, the Society for National Monuments and the Iranian National Commission for UNESCO are always trying to collaborate, to the full extent, with other cultural organisations in the Middle East for making the necessary arrangements for the one thousandth anniversary of Avicenna.*

COMMÉMORATION DU MILLÉNAIRE D'AVICENNE EN IRAN

Par

Dr. Zabihulla Safa, Ph.D. (Tehran)

Professeur à l'Université de Téhéran

A l'occasion de la commémoration du Millénaire d'Avicenne (Abou-Ali-Ibn-Sina (ابو علی ابن سینا) philosophe, médecin et grand écrivain Iranien dont la Commission des Monuments Historiques (انجمن آثار ملی) a entrepris la célébration, et étant donné que la commémoration de ce grand Iranien attire l'attention de l'Unesco, des Etats Islamiques et des autres nations, nous avons jugé à propos de relater brièvement ici les œuvres monumentales de ce philosophe.

Les travaux d'Avicenne dans les différents domaines la science et da la philosophie sont tellement immenses qu'il nous est impossible de les énumérer tous dans la présente brochure.

Pour avoir des renseignements sur Avicenne, on peut se référer aux ouvrages et aux travaux faits sur lui en persan, en arabe, et en différentes langues européenes.

Ci-après, un aperçu général sur la vie et les œuvres d'Avicenne et les mesures entreprises en Iran pour commémorer son Millénaire:

1—Selon les informations les plus fondées et authentiques. Avicenne naquit en l'an 370 de l'Hégire (980, ère chrétienne) d'une famille de religion Ismaïlite (un des sectes shiïtes). Sa naissance eut lieu à Afshana, un des districts de Boukhara, célébre capitale de la dynastie iranienne des Samanides.

2—La mort d'Avicenne survint en 428 de l'Hégire (1037, ère chrétienne) à Hamadân.

3—Compte tenu des précitées, le Millénaire de la naissance d'Avicenne sera en 1370 (année lunaire) correspondant à la deuxième quinzaine du mois de Tir 1330 (année solaire), soit la 2ème quinzaine du mois de Juin 1951.

4—Avicenne a composé de nombreux ouvrages évalués à 100 livres, dont une partie seulement a subsisté. Certains de ces ouvrages ont été traduits en langues occidentales. Voici les meilleurs de ses ouvrages:

A. Livres en persan.

(*a*)—*Danechnâmah ou Hekmate Alâî.*— کتاب دانشنامه یا حکمت علائی

Cet ouvrage ayant été dédié à Alaed-Dawlah Kâkouyah, (علاء الدوله کاکویه)

roi Daylami d'Isfâhân, a été rédigé sur la logique, la métaphysique, et la physique. Avicenne a écrit ce livre en persan en essayant de se servir de cette langue pour les termes scientifiques et philosophiques arabes. L'ouvrage en question a été imprimé à Téhéran.

(*b*)—*Ressâlah Méerâdjillah* (رساله معراجيه) où Avicenne commente certaines expressions religieuses tells que le Saint Esprit, la révélation, la parole de Dieu, la prophétie, la loi religieuse.

(*c*)—*Ressâlah Nabowat.* (رساله نبوت) sur la prophétie, la révélation et l'inspiration.

(*d*)—*Ressâlah Nabzillah.* (رساله نبضيه) sur les divers états de pouls.

Les autres ouvrages persans seront cités dans le chapitre réservé aux mesures prises par la Commission des Monuments Historiques (Andjomané Athare Mellie) pour la publication des ouvrages d'Avicenne.

B. Livres en langue arabe.

(*a*)—*Chafâ*: (كتاب الشفا) C'est un ouvrage détaillé englobant les sciences philosophiques: la logique, les mathématiques, la physique et la métaphysique. Il constitue l'une des plus importantes compositions philosophiques de l'Islam. L'ouvrage en question a été imprimé à Téhéran en 1303, anné lunaire (1924).

(*b*)—*Al-Nédjât*: (كتاب النجات) Un résumé sur la logique, la physique et la métaphysique, commenté par Khâdjah Nassir-éddin Toussi.

Cet ouvrage d'une importance particulière aux postulants de sciences anciennes, figure sur leur programme d'études.

(*c*)—*Hekmate-al-Machréghiyne*: (حكمة المشرقيين) Cet ouvrage dont la partie seule de la logique est en main, a été l'ouvrage le plus important d'Avicenne dans le domaine de la philosophie, étant donné que l'auteur y avait exprimé ses opinions personnells à propos de la philosophie, alors que dans ses autres ouvrages philosophiques tels que: *Echârât, Chafâ, Nédjât, Hekmate-Alâï*, il a analysé et discuté la philosophie des "Maschâïne" (Péripatéticienne). Il est à regretter que l'ouvrage en question ait disparu lors de la bataille du Sultan Massoud fils de Sultan Mahmoud Ghaznavi avec Alâed-Dawlah, et il n'en resta que la partie de la logique, différente celle de de "Maschâïne.

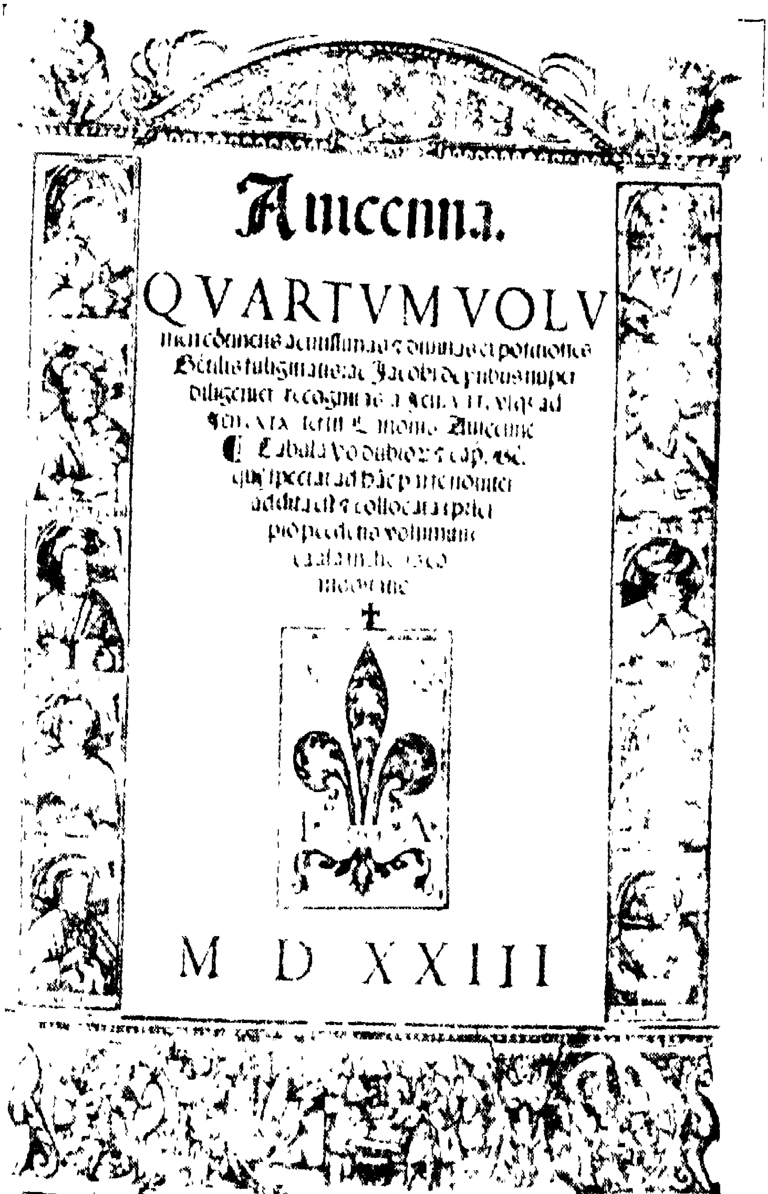
(*d*)—*Al-Ghânoun*: كتاب القانون في الطب) C'est le plus important ouvrage médical d'Avicenne et celui du monde islamique.

Il comprend 5 parties, à savoir:

1—Géneralités de la Médecine.

2—Synthèse des médicaments.

3—Pathologie générale.


Auicenna.

QVARTVM VOLV

M D XXIII

The frontispiece of the Soviet Russian edition of one of Avicenna's works.

By Courtesy of the 'Soviet Union' of August, 1952.

4—Pathologie spéciale de chaque organe.

5—Les ingrédients.

Le commentaire de Ghotbed-Dine Chirazi est le plus important de tous ceux qui ont été écrits à propos de ce livre.

"Al-Ghânoun" d'Avicenne est considéré dans la civilisation islamique comme "les quatre bases fondamentales de la Médecine". Ce livre a été publié pour la première fois à Rome au XVIe siècle et à Téhéran en 1274 de l'Hégire.

(*e*)—*Ta'lighât*: (تعليقات) un resumé de toutes les questions philosophiques.

(*f*)—*Al-Mabda'-val-Maâd*: (كتاب المبداء و المعاد), où l'auteur décrit les points obscurs de la philosophie péripatéticienne concernant la métaphysique et la physique.

(*g*)—*Traité de Fayze-Elâhi*: (فيض الهي) contenant les recherches sur l'origine de la révélation, du miracle, de la sorcellerie ainsi que l'influence de l'âme dans les autres âmes ou sur les autres corps.

(*h*)—*Traité de Salâmân va Absal*: (سلامان و ابسال) contenant un épisode philosophique mis en vers persans par Djâmi, poète du 9ème siècle de l'Hégire.

(*i*)—*Ressâlah-al-Tayr*: (رسالة الطير) sur l'évolution de l'Esprit dont le sujet a été également mis en vers persans par Chéykh Farided-Dine Attâré (Mantégh-al-Tayr).

(*j*)—*Traité de Haycbné—Yaghzân*: (حي بن يقظان) discutant la philosophie et l'éducation.

(*k*)—*Oyoun-al-Hekmat*: (عيون الحكمة) sur certaines questions philosophiques auxquelles Emâm Fakhre Râzi a écrit un commentaire.

(*l*)—*Traité sur la phonetique*: (مخارج الحروف)

(*m*)—Traités répondant aux questions scientifiques et philosophiques posées par Abou-Rayhân Birouni, le célèbre savant iranien. Avicenne lui a répondu dans deux lettres à 10 et à 16 de ses questions respectivement.

(*n*)—Un cantique sur les principes de la Médecine, traduit en latin sous le titre de "Canticum de medicina".

(*o*)—Un cantique sur l'Esprit, commenté par Manâvi, traduit par Cara de Vaux et publié dans le Journal Asiatique (juillet-août 1899).

(*p*)—*Mabhath-al-Ghôva-al Nafsanyah*: (مبحث عن القوى النفسانية) Traité sur les facultés de l'Esprit, imprimé par Van Dyack au Caire en 1325 de l'Hégire.

(*q*)—*Al-Ghassidah-al-Mozdavajah Fel-Mantéghe*: (القصيدة المزدوجة في المنطق) Cantique sur la logique, publié au Caire en 1910.

(*r*)—*Kétab-al-Siassa*: (كتاب السياسة) sur la politique publié à Beyrouth en 1911.

(*s*)—*Traité de Al-Hozn-va-Asbabéh*: (رسالة الحزن و اسبابه) Explication des causes du chagrin.

(*t*)—Plusieurs cantiques et morceaux en persan et en arabe.

Remarque: A part les ouvrages ci-haut mentionnés, Avicenne nous a laissé bien d'autres dont les principaux sont:

Al-Hâssel-va-Mahsoul, (الحاصل و المحصول) en 20 volumes.

Kétab-Al-Berre-val-Ethme, (كتاب البر والاثم) sur la morale, en 2 volumes.

Al-Ensâf. (الانصاف) sur la philosophie en 20 volumes.

La plupart de ces ouvrages ont été détruits pendant les révolutions ou disparus à travers les siècles.

Au cas où on aurait besoin des renseignements sur la vie d'Avicenne, ses idées philosophiques ou sur ses connaissances dans le domaine de la Médecine, on les trouverait dans les ouvrages suivants:

Encyclopédie de l'Islam, Tome II, art, Ibn-Sina.

Les Penseurs de l'Islam, par Cara de Vaux.

Geschichte der Arab Litteratur par Brockelmann, etc. etc.

La Commission des Monuments Historiques Iraniennes (Andjomané Athâré Mellie) a procédé, depuis 2 ans, aux importants préparatifs suivants pour la commémoration du Millénaire d'Avicenne:

A. Construction d'un Mausolée digne d'Avicenne.

Le plan de ce mausolée a été imité sur celui de Gonbad Ghabousse, un des plus anciens mausolées Iraniens.

Le nouveau mausolée est élevé à Hamadân où Avicenne repose depuis 428 (Hégire), 1037, ère chrétienne.

B.—Emission de 6 séries de timbres en mémoire d'Avicenne. Chaque série contient 5 timbres représentant les monuments historiques et les sites archéologiques de l'Iran.

Trois séries de ces timbres sont déjà émis et vendus et la quatrième est sous presse.

Ces timbres, préparés & imprimés à l'imprimerie "Bradburry Wilkinson and Cie à Londres, portent l'inscription "En Commémoration du Millénaire d'Avicenne".

C.—Revision et impression des œuvres et des articles d'Avicenne écrits en persan et dont les noms suivant:

Ressâlah Nafs (رسالۀ نفس) traité sur l'esprit et les traités suivants: *Mantégh* (منطق) la logique, *Tabiyât* (طبيعيات) la physique

Riaziât (ریاضیات) les mathématiques, *Elahiyât* (الهیات) la métaphysique, extraits de Dânechnâmah-Alâf par Monsieur Méchkât, professeur à l'Université de Téhéran.

Traités: *Elmé pichine va Barin* (علم پیشین و برین)
Mafatihol-Khazâèn (مفاتیح الخزائن)
Ghorâzeyé Tabiyât (قراضهٔ طبیعیات)
Zafar Nâmah (ظفر نامه)

par Monsieur le Docteur Sadighi, professeur à l'Université de Téhéran.

Traités: *Maréfah-al-Nafs* (معرفة النفس) *psychologie*
Elalé Tasalsolé Mawdjodat (علل تسلسل موجودات)

par Monsieur le Dr. Amid, professeur à l'Université de Téhéran.

Traité: *Djarré Saghil* (جر ثقیل)

par Monsieur Djalal Homâï, professeur à l'Université de Téhéran.

Tous ces ouvrages seront imprimés par les soins de la Commission des Monuments Historiques Iraniens et publiés lors de la commémoration du Millénaire d'Avicenne.

D. Préparation d'une statue d'Avicenne sur les donnés et renseignements recueillis de différentes sources.

E. Conférences et discours relatifs à la valeur scientifique d'Avicenne, son influence et son apport à la vie culturelle Islamique et Iranienne.

F. Préparation de pièces de théâtre qui seront jouées lors de la commémoration.

G. Surnom d'un grand artère, d'une école et d'um hôpital de Téhéran et de Hamadân au nom d'Avicenne.

H. La commémoration aura lieu simultanément à Téhéran et à Hamadân dans la deuxième quinzaine de Tir 1330 (mai-juin 1951).

Le programme détaillé de cette cérémonie sera publié en son temps.

A GREAT HUMANITARIAN

1,000th Birth Anniversary of Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina (Avicenna)

By

B. Petrov

Director, First Moscow Medical Institute

On the recommendation of the World Peace Council progressive people the world over have recently celebrated the 1,000th birth anniversary of the great Tajik thinker and scientist Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina (Avicenna). Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina's contribution to world civilisation was vast and varied. An erudite among erudites, with a mind that treasured the highly-developed culture of the peoples of 10th-11th century Central Asia, he was the author of more than 100 treatises devoted to Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Geology, Zoology and other sciences ; he was loved as a poet and respected as a researcher in music.

It was in the fields of Medicine and Philosophy that Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina achieved real greatness. He was acclaimed by the medical men of the world as the prince of the physicians. Throughout seven centuries after its author's death his famous "Canon of Medicine" reared numerous generations of physicians, and was the officially recognised university textbook. No other medical book enjoyed such lasting fame. With the advent of book printing it appeared in dozens of editions in Latin, and was translated in Arabic and Hebrew, and other languages. To this day the ponderous medical treatise, in which the prince of the physicians sums up his rich practice as well as the knowledge gleaned by men of medicine before him, amazes one by its acute observations and its profundity.

The creator of the "Canon" was born in the village of Afshana, near Bukhara, and lived an eventful, turbulent life. His versatile gifts made him, at an early age, a famous scholar and prominent public man. He was hounded by the dark forces of reaction, but even while incarcerated in a fortress he continued his scientific pursuits. To the end of his days he was one of the world's leading scientists and writers.

Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina waged war against obscurantism and the occult sciences, Sorcery, Astrology and Alchemy, his allies being rational principles and precise knowledge. In his treatise on minerals he made valuable discoveries relating to the nature of mountains formations. His philosophical ideas Ibn-Sina expounded in his encyclopedia, *"The Book of Recovery,"* which had a wide distribution in the East and West.



Abu 'Alī Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)
(A portrait by M. Khoshmuhamedov, a Tajik SSR Artist.)

By Courtesy of the 'Soviet Union' of August 1952.

Although there is much that remains unexplored in the literary and scientific heritage of Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina, that which is known warrants mankind's undying gratitude. Like other great minds, Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina, son of the Tajik people, is not only the pride of his nation and other Soviet nations, but the pride of progressive humanity. Hence the truly international character of the recent celebrations in his honour.*

* *Taken from Illustrated Monthly 'Soviet Union', August 1952 edition, page 16.*

AVICENNA
The Prince Of The Learned

By

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.

The year 1951-1952 marked the Millenary of Avicenna's birth when the years are counted according to the Muslim era. Indeed, A.D. 1951-1952, coincided with A.H. 1370; the famous philosopher was born in A.H. 370.

On this occasion scholars from many parts of the world have pooled their resources to celebrate in a befitting and lasting manner the memory of one of the greatest thinkers of all times. Under the patronage of the Arab League, the UNESCO, the Iranian Government and various cultural institutes, it has been decided to publish critical editions of all the works of Avicenna still extant either already in print or in manuscript. Standard translations are being planned or are already made of the most important works; numerous monographs have been published dealing with the various aspects of the great Sheikh's achievements, in science, in philosophy, in mysticism. To recall but a few we may mention: the French translation of the *Isharat* by the well-known specialist on Avicenna, Mademoiselle A.M. Goichon ; the *Bibliography of Avicenna* by the Rev. P. Anawati ; *"La Pensee religieuse d'Avicenne"* by Louis Gardet ; the Millenary Symposium on *"Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher"* edited by G. M. Wickens ; an excellent little booklet of the *Wisdom of the East* series, *"Avicenna on Theology"* containing the autobiography of the scholar and well-chosen extracts of his theological writings translated by Professor A. J. Arberry ; numerous articles of reviews, the *Oriente Moderno* (F. Gabrieli in July-September 1950), *Revue Thomiste* (1951, No. 2), *La Revue du Caire* (June 1951), *Indo-Iranica* (January 1953). . .

It is to that galaxy of scholars and scholarly writings that we venture to add a few notes for the information and edification of our readers.

Avicenna's Life Story

The name "Avicenna" comes from the Hebrew *Aven Sina* which is a corrupt form of the Arabic Ibn Sina. *Ibn Sina* was what we might call the pet-name of Abu Ali al-Hussain ibn Abd'Allah, the Muslim prince of the learned, often simply referred to as *al-Sheikh, al-Ra'is,* the Sheikh, the Chief, because of his extraordinary learning.

Ibn Sina's father Abd'Allah originated from Balkh which is now in Afghanistan, but his mother was in all likelihood of Persian stock for she was called *Sitara,* star. The boy, certainly, was much influenced by Persian culture ; he knew Persian and always moved within the territories of greater Persia. He may, therefore, be considered as a Persian although the Arabs and the Turks also claim him with good reasons as one of theirs.

Nothing is known of the ancestors of Abd'Allah, but he must have been a man of importance, for when he had settled down in Bukhara in the days of Sultan or Amir Nuh ibn Mansur, he was appointed by the ruler of the place governor of the district of Kharmaitan. There was in those parts a village called Afshana. Afshana witnessed the marriage of Abd'Allah with Sitara, and then, in A.H. 370/A.D. 980 the birth of the little Hussain that was to go down in history as Avicenna. Soon after the event the family moved to Bukhara.

Little Hussain was a prodigy. By the time he was ten years old he had mastered the whole Qur'an and a good deal of other literature. His father, then, gave him a teacher that passed for a philosopher, Abd'Allah Natili, a man of Tabiristan near the Caspian Sea. With him Ibn Sina learned the elements of fiqh (jurisprudence), the beginning of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, a few propositions of Euclid and some notions of astronomy: but the pupil soon outdid his master who retired to Gurganj. Avicenna, left to himself began "to devour" all the books that came within his reach. He completed the reading of the books of Euclid, then moved on to the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, the *Aphorisms of the Philosophers*, various texts and commentaries on natural science and metaphysics and all the books he could find on medicine. Avicenna himself has described the hectic period of eighteen months which followed the departure of Natili. We take it from his own *Autobiography* (translated by A. J. Arberry in "*Avicenna on Theology*", John Murray, *Wisdom of the East* series, p. 11): "During all this time I did not sleep one night through, nor devoted my attention to any other matter by day. I prepared a set of files ; with each proof I examined, I set down the syllogistic premises and put them in order in the files, then I examined what deductions might be drawn from them. I observed methodically the conditions of the premises, and proceeded until the truth of each particular problem was confirmed. Whenever I found myself perplexed by a problem, or could not find the middle term in any syllogism, I would repair to the mosque and pray, adoring the all-Creator, until my puzzle was resolved and my difficulty made easy. At night I would return home, set the lamp before me, and busy myself with reading and writing ; whenever sleep overcame me or I was conscious of some weakness, I turned aside to drink a glass of wine until my strength returned ; then I went back to my reading. If ever the least slumber overtook me, I would dream of the precise problem which I was considering as I fell asleep ; in that way many problems revealed themselves to me while sleeping. So I continued until I had made myself master of all the sciences ; I comprehended them to the limits of human possibility. . ."

Having grown familiar with logic, natural sciences and mathematics, Avicenna turned his attention more fully to metaphysics and set himself to read the *Metaphysica* of Aristotle, but although he read it over forty times and had come to know it by heart, still he could not understand it and was in despair. Then one day he chanced on a book by Abu Nasr al-Farabi "*On the*

Objects of Metaphysics". As he read through the notes of the great Philosopher, he suddenly discovered Aristotle's mind. Avicenna was so happy that on the next day he distributed alms to the poor in gratitude to God. The young scholar was not even 17 years old!

Now the Sultan of Bukhara, Nuh ibn Mansur, had been sick for some time and the physicians were baffled by the strangeness of his disease. They suggested that Avicenna be called. The boy studied the case, diagnosed it rightly and was able to cure the Sultan. As a reward the youthful physician asked for and obtained access to his master's rich library.

When Avicenna reached the age of 21, he was asked by a certain Abu'l-Hasan al-Aruni, well versed in prosody, to write for him a compendium, *Madjmu'*, of science. Avicenna obliged him. Soon after, a neighbour, Abu Bakr al Barqi who took great interest in law and in asceticism, begged Ibn Sina also for a book on his pet subjects, and Avicenna wrote for him a dissertation in 20 volumnes on *al-Hasil wa'l-Mahsul* (*the Actuating and the Actuated*) together with one on ethics *al-Birr wa'l-Ithm* (*Good Works and Sin*).

Avicenna had so far been living with his father and this meant easy comfort. But in A.H. 392/A.D. 1002 Abd'Allah died and hardships of many kinds fell on the poor scholar. He had to look for a living and accept to serve whilst pursuing his researches. The Sultan of Bukhara gave him a post but he soon had to move to Gurganj where he was introduced to the Amir, Ali ibn al-Ma'mun and practised law for a time. "Then I was constrained to move to Nasa, and from there to Baward, and thence successively to Tus, Shaqqan, Samanqan, Jajarm the frontier-post of Khurasan, and Jurjan" (*Autob*. p. 14); he tried in vain to reach Amir Qabus, then went to Dihistan and finally returned to Jurjan where he made friends with Abu Ubaid al Juzjani. Summing up his perigrination Avicenna composed a line: "I am not big and yet no town will have me; my price is not high, but there are no buyers" (Carra de Vaux, *Avicenna*, p. 137).

In Jurjan a man of letters and culture, Abu Muhammad al-Shirazi, gave Avicenna a house close to his own where the Master stayed for sometime lecturing on logic and writing numerous books at the request of friends and protectors. It is here that he began his famous treatise on medicine *al-Qanun fi'l-Tibb*.

But Avicenna was not to know peace for long. Soon, indeed, he was on his way to Ray where the son of princess al-Saiyida was suffering from melancholia. Circumstances, however, forced our philosopher to leave Ray and he proceeded to Qazwin, then to Hamadan where he treated the Sultan Shams'al-Daula for colics.

Whilst in Hamadan Avicenna began to compose at the request of his friend and pupil, al-Juzjani, one of his most famous books *Kitab al-Shifa* (*The Book of Remedy*). The Master would explain his book and the Qanun to special gatherings of students: "every night," wrote al-Juzjani,

"students gathered in his house, and by turns I would read the *Shifa* and another the *Qanun*. When we had finished the allotted portion the various musicians would enter; vessels were brought out for a drinking party; and so we occupied ourselves" (*Biography of Avicenna*, p. 17).

Avicenna in spite of his passion for study was far from being a morose scholar. He enjoyed comfort at times to excess and the sexual liberties which he took are said to have shortened his life. "The Master was powerful in all his faculties and he was especially strong sexually; this indeed was a prevailing passion with him, and he indulged it to such an extent that his constitution was affected; yet he relied upon his powerful constitution to pull him through" (*op. cit.* p. 22).

The ruler of Hamadan, Sultan Shams' al-Daula, who was benefited by the medical skill of Avicenna, appointed him his vizier. But the soldiers of the Sultan did not want Avicenna at their head ; they assailed his house, ransacked all his belongings, and handed him a prisoner to the Sultan demanding his death. The Sultan did not put him to death; he only banished him for a time. Meanwhile Avicenna remained in hiding in a friend's house. After some forty days the Sultan was attacked again by colics, he therefore summoned Avicenna to his bed-side for medical treatment and re-appointed him vizier of the realm. Back to health the Sultan set out on an expedition against a neighbour, but his old complaint returned and he died. Avicenna profited by his demise to retire to a druggist's shop and make secret arrangements to pass over to Sultan Ala'al-Daula of Ispahan. Discovered, he was sent to the fortress of Fardjan. But Avicenna disguised as a Sufi managed to escape from his prison and to make for Ispahan where he was received with great honours by the Sultan. He became an intimate courtier of Ala-al'Daula.

The Master profited by the relative leisure which he now enjoyed to complete his unfinished works, and write numerous other treaties on a variety of subjects including prosody and astronomy. Whilst accompanying the Sultan on an expedition against Hamadan, Avicenna got a severe attack of dysentery ; inspite of drastic drugging the disease got the better of a body prematurely worn out by excesses: "The Manager who used to manage me" sighed the Philosopher, "is incapable of managing me any more; so it is no use trying to cure my sickness'. Having lingered on a few days, "he was then transported to the presence of his Lord".

Avicenna died in A.H. 428/A.D. 1037 at the age of 58 at Hamadan where his tomb is found to this day.

His Work and Achievements.

Anawati's *Bibliography of Avicenna* published in Cairo in 1950 has listed some 276 works attributed to the great Master. There may be more!

The works in question cover a considerable variety of subjects: many are on the principles of medicine, diagnosis, diseases, remedies ; more are

on philosophical problems, summaries of bigger works, introductions to special subjects, logic in verse and otherwise, special studies on definitions, the properties of the body, the soul and its faculties, cosmology, metaphysics ; not a few are on mathematics and astronomy, theology and asceticism. He wrote on prosody also and on music.

Several of these works have already been mentioned above, but two in particular should be singled out the *Kitab al-Shifa* and *Al-Qanun fi'l-Tibb*. They are the books that made Avicenna famous both in the East and in the West.

The *Kitab al-Shifa* or *Book of the Remedy* was begun at Hamadan at the special request of Al-Juzjani and completed in Isfahan. The composition of this book makes a thrilling story, but for lack of space we must pass it over. The *Kitab* was summarised by Avicenna himself under the title *Al-Nadjat*. The *Kitab* is a real encyclopaedia of sciences and of philosophy as understood by the great scholar. Sections of the Shifa were translated into Latin early in the 12th century by the Archbishop of Segovia, Dominicus Gondissalinus and published under the strange title of *Sufficientia Physicorum*, a work to which Roger Bacon often referred ; they comprised commentaries on Aristotle's logic, the *De Anima* and *De Physica*. The translation was revised, completed and re-edited several times during the Middle Ages and after.

Al-Qanun fi'l-Tibb or *Canon of Medicine* was also a kind of encyclopaedia but of medical knowledge this time. It was based on the writings of Galen and other Greek as well as Arabian physicians ; it incorporated also the valueable personal observations of Ibn Sina himself.

The *Canon* was translated into Latin and by the end of the 12th century it was a popular book in the West ; it opened new fields in surgery. The same remained as a prescribed text-book in many medical faculties for over five centuries ; it saw many Latin editions: "Fifteen during the last thirty years of the 15th century and a further twenty during the 16th century. Several more were printed in the 17th century" (A. C. Crombie: *Avicenna's Influence on the Medieval Scientific Tradition, in Millenary Symposium*, p. 93).

Had Avicenna been a mere compiler and been satisfied with gathering in his books the scientific and philosophical lores of his days, he would still deserve the gratitude of mankind. But besides putting together much knowledge that would otherwise have been lost, Avicenna was also original thinker. In fact he is perhaps the first Muslim thinker who was able to build a consistent and comprehensive system of thought. The way, it is true, had been prepared for him by Al-Farabi, an independent philosopher who had tried to harmonise Aristotle and Plotinus. But the originality of Avicenna is undeniable even if scholars quibble to define in what exactly it consisted.

Avicenna's originality is most marked in philosophy. His genial find was in the notion of Being where he discovered the distinction between

essence and existence, between necessary and possible being, between Being necessary of itself and necessary by another: an adumbration of the analogy of Being. His distinction "between essence and existence in the creature, as distinct from the Creator, at last made it possible to circumnavigate the morass of pantheism, a particular hazard in the path of Islamic explorers, whether philosophical or mystical" (G. M. Wickens, *Some Aspects of Avicenna's Work, in Millenary Symposium,* p. 54).

In psychology Avicenna made a thorough study of the soul—he wrote an important work on *De Anima*—and was able to propose very correct ideas about external and internal perceptions. He refuted the Greek theory according to which vision was produced by material rays travelling between the eyes and the object. Avicenna distinguished between the material perception which was caused, he asserted, by rays of light coming from the object and by the psychological reaction of the subject: the reality of the object somehow reproduces itself in the subject perceiving ; the form so elaborated is stored by the *sensus communis* and presented to the internal, intellectual faculties for analysis.

In physics, of course, our scholar was more than once the victim of the scientific theories of his days: but even here his philosophical training often helped him to sense the right solution or interpretation.

We may choose as example the scholar's reflections on the movement of a projectile. Aristotle had taught that "a body is kept in motion by the continuous operation of an efficient cause". This explanation did not fully explain the movement of a projectile when it had left the hand that threw it ; the air, indeed, could not help the motion, it could only retard it. An Alexandrian commentator of the 6th century, John Philoponos, rightly explained that the motion was kept up, not by the hand, but by a special power or quality that the hand had communicated to the projectile, the *impetus.* Avicenna took this theory—he was the first Arab to do so—and perfected it: he tried to express the impetus quantitatively (the moving power remaining equal, bodies will move with a velocity inversely proportional to their weights) and showed against John Philoponos himself that *in vacuo* that is, if no obstacle is opposed to the moving object, the projectile would travel on indefinitely. It was a first step towards the modern theory of the inertia of matter.

Avicenna left his mark also in the history of musical technique. He wrote on elementary harmony and on mensural music, in which each note is given a special value and a definite ratio is kept between the notes. Avicenna was particularly interested in the therapeutic value of medicine and its influence on moods (A. C. Crombie, *op. cit.,* p. 102).

The few details mentioned above show the extraordinary versatility of Avicenna, and how deep was his influence in the West. A. C. Crombie does not hesitate to write (*op. cit.,* p. 84 fl). "He was the first of the two great Arabic commentators whose exposition and extension of Aristotle's

thought helped to bring about the first phase of the scientific revolution, which effectively began in the 13th century, and without which the dramatic progress of the second, 17th century phase would have been utterly impossible.''

We should have liked to dwell a little more on the philosophical system developed by Avicenna, but this would take us very far. We presume to leave the study for another occasion. Enough has been said to show the greatness of the one who deserved to be called in his days ''The Prince of the Learned''.

Whilst, however, eulogising Avicenna on the occasion of his Millenary, we should not forget his short-comings. He certainly contributed much to philosophical knowledge and in particular to the Thomist and the Scotist synthesis, but as remarks Rev. Fr. Kenelm Foster O.P. (*Avicenna and Western Thought in the 13th Century, in Millenary Symposium,* p. 110), ''he did so in general, rather as a starting-point than as a finished product''. No Christian philosopher or theologian, except perhaps to a certain extent Roger Bacon, was able to submit to his system of thought even though he was held by all in high esteem: ''Avicenna is an *auctor* continually cited, frequently opposed, always to be reckoned with'' (*op. cit.*, p. 109). Even in Islam Ibn Sina was looked down with suspicion: Al-Ghazali attacked him with determination and violence and ruined the fortune of his system in the East. In fact it is rather the West which made the greatness of Avicenna, little conscious perhaps that it was preparing the way for a very dangerous heresy which was to create much confusion in the schools of theology, Averroism. Carra de Vaux, *Avicenna*, p. 276).

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A Glimpse of Avicenna

God's Knowledge

In God ''His Knowledge, His Being Known and His Knowing are one and the same thing. He knows other than Himself, and all objects of knowledge. He knows all things by virtue of one knowledge, and in a single manner. His Knowledge does not change according to whether the thing known has being or not being''

God knows all in one act

''It has been established that His Knowledge does not augment His Essence, and that He is the origin of all things that have being, while being exalted above accident and changes; it therefore follows that He knows things in a manner unchanging. The objects of knowledge are a consequence of His Knowledge; His Knowledge is not a consequence of the things known, that it should change as they change; for His Knowledge of things is the reason for their having being.

Hence it is manifest that Knowledge is itself Omnipotence. He knows all contingent things, even as He knows all things that have being, even though we know them not; for the contingent in relation to us is a thing whose being is possible and whose not-being is also possible: but in relation to Him one of the two alternatives is actually known. Therefore His Knowledge of genera, species, things with being, contingent things, manifest and secret things—this Knowledge is a single knowledge."

The Greatness of Man

"When God had created the animals, after the plants, the mineral and the elements, and after the spheres, the stars, the insubstantial spirits and the intelligences perfect in themselves; when He had completed His work of origination and creation, He desired to finish His creation with the most perfect species, even as He had begun it with the most perfect genus. He therefore distinguished Man from out of all His creatures, so that as the beginning had been with Intelligence, so too the conclusion should be. He began with the noblest of substances, Intelligence, and He concluded with the noblest of beings, the Intelligent. The high purpose of creation was Man, and nothing else." (*Avicenna on Theology*, Transl. A. J. Arberry, J. Murray, pp. 33, 35, 50).

AVICENNA NEWS

PRESS NOTE

Celebrations to Commemorate the Millenary of Sheikh Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina

Great celebrations will be held in Teheran (Iran) during June-July, 1951 to commemorate the Millenary of Sheikh Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina, a very eminent physician and philosopher of Iran who lived during the 10th Century A.D. and is well known to all Orientalists through his numerous works on Medicine, Mathematics, Philosophy etc. Representatives from all over the world will participate in the Celebrations and a delegation of Indian scholars, scientists etc. will also attend. The Department of Preservation of Antiquities of Iran is busy with the construction of a magnificent mausoleum over the tomb of the Sheikh which will be completed before the commencement of the Celebrations.

The Government of Iran also propose, as a part of the Celebrations, to bring out a series of Commemorative stamps in memory of Sheikh Abu-Ali-Ibn-Sina. The Commemorative set contains five series of stamps. Each series consists of five stamps of the following denominations:

15 rials, 7.50 rials. 3.75 rials 1.50 rials and 0.75 rial.

The face value of each series is 28.50 rials equal to Rs. 4/4. Each series may broadly be described as follows:

1.	The 1st	series	showing	the	relics of the	Achaemenian Period.
2.	The 2nd	,,	,,	,,	,,	Sassanian ,,
3.	The 3rd.	,,	,,	,,	,,	Seljouk ,,
4.	The 4th	,,	,,	,,		9th & 10th Centuries A.D.
5.	The 5th	,,	,.	the photograph of the Sheikh, his tomb etc.		

Series 1 to 4 have already been released for sale to the public while the last series will be out on the occasion of the Celebrations in June-July 1951.

Philatelists and others interested in these Commemorative Stamps may obtain them on requisition from the Cultural Counsellor, Iranian Embassy, New Delhi.

SPAIN RETAINS INTEREST IN MUSLIM PHILOSOPHER IBN-SINA

From The Sind Observer of March 25, 1951

Madrid

(By Mail)

One of the most important cultural decisions taken by the Arab League was the commemoration of the centenary of the famous Muslim philosopher

and medico Ibn-Sina. It was strongly recommended by the League to study the works of Ibn-Sina in all Islamic Universities from cultural and scientific points of view.

It was not easy to foresee that in a Christian country, although with an Arabic past, two fundamental works would be published contributing to the greatest cultural personality of Islam.

Senor Cruz Hernandez, Professor of the University of Granada, was the author of both books. One, entitled *"Metaphysics of Avicenna"* published by the University, is a complete study of the life and works of the great wise man. The other *"Avicenna on Metaphysics"*, contains the translations of the most noteworthy pages of Ibn-Sina, and has been published by the *"Revista de Occidente"* (*Occidental Review*), a remarkable and broad-minded editorial.

In his studies, Sr. Hernandez defends the originality of Islamic culture represented by many European authors as a mixture of various cultures. The idea of a culture concocted with foreign elements against the background of a wild and romantic Arabia is suitable only for Hollywood. Many Americans and Europeans do not know that Islam also boasts of thinkers on the same intellectual level as Aristotle, Plato, St. Thomas, Kant etc., and this is what Sr. Cruz emphasises in his books.

Many who scrutinise Ibn-Sina's works try to find his connection with Greek Philosophy, forgetting that his most important aspect of thought is his submission to Islam, his religious faith. According to Sr. Cruz, Ibn-Sina's philosophical works did not originate from Greek authors, but from the Muslim philosophy of al-Kindi and al-Farabi, and from the Quran itself.

It is true that Ibn-Sina followed and re-adapted Aristotle's philosophy, but we must remember the meaning and the way of using some ideas and words taken from the Greek author for example, essence, substance, accident, possibility, etc. To Ibn-Sina these words have a deeper meaning, following that in the Quranic faith.

The easy adaptation of Ibn-Sina's philosophy with Christian theology is most remarkable. He was known in the Christian world as Avicenna, and together with al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd, he restored the intellectual roots which is lost to the Western world.

Sr. Cruz wrote his two books in Granada which was the last capital of the Arabs in Spain. Granada is near Cordova where Ibn Rushd was born, another philosopher and medico just as illustrious as his predecessor. Granada was itself the cradle of Ibn Rushd. So the works of Sr. Cruz join Arabic tradition in its very atmosphere.

AN URGENT APPEAL

Avicenna's Library is your own Library!

Close to the mausoleum of the world's celebrated physician and philosopher, Avicenna (980-1037), located in the city of Hamadan, Persia, an appropriate building has been erected to house all the existing literature relating to his life and achievements, including translations of his monumental works in the field of medicine and philosophy.

In anticipation of his Millennium, which will soon be commemorated, the Society for Protection of National Monuments (Khiabane Musée, Téhéran, Iran) extends a most cordial invitation to all institutions of learning, to all scholars, friends and admirers throughout the world, to join in this effort and to co-operate in building up the Avicenna Library. It would be needless to say that the world of science and learning owes this to the illustrious teacher, Avicenna.

Hamadan will, of course, be remembered as the ancient Hagmatana or Ecbatan, the old Medic capital. Any volume or volumes that you may be able to contribute will be most gratefully preserved in your own name, to serve as a perpetual record of your participation in the Avicenna Millenial Celebration.

Avicenna's Library is your own library.

Please send your contributions to the Society for Protection of National Monuments through the diplomatic representative of your country or by any other means you choose.

Minister of National
Education, Iran
Dr. Djaza'eri

President of the Executive Committee
for "Society for Protection of
National Monuments, Iran"
A. A. Hekmat

UN APPEL URGENT

Votre contribution à la Bibliothèque d'Ibn-Sina à Hamadan nous est indispensable.

La Bibliothèque d'Ibn-Sina, dont la construction vient d'être achevée à proximité du Mausolée de ce grand philosophe, s'attend maintenant à la générosité des savants du monde entier.

En ce moment où s'organise la célébration du Millénaire d'Ibn-Sina, la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques, sise avenue du Musée, Téhéran, Iran, se fait le devoir de vous prier d'apporter, chacun selon vos moyens, votre précieuse contribution à la Bibliothèque par des dons d'œuvres médicales, philosophiques ou de traductions d'oeuvres, du philosophe et médecin universel.

Tous les livres offerts à la Bibliothèque y seront conservés en guise de souvenirs perpétuels au nom des donateurs.

Nous vous prions de bien vouloir faire parvenir votre contribution à la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques par l'intermédiaire de la représentation diplomatique de votre pays ou par toute autre voie à votre choix.

Ministre de l'Education
Nationale de l'Iran
Dr. Djaza'eri

Président du Comité Exécutive
de la "Société pour la Conservation
des Monuments Historiques".
A. A. Hekmat

بکتابخانه ابن سینا در همدان کمک کنید

کتابخانهٔ ابن سینا اکنون در جوار آرامگاه آن حکیم بزرگ ساخته و پرداخته شده و منتظر یاری و مساعدت دانشمندان جهان است - انجمن آثار ملی (که محل آن واقع در خیابان موزه - تهران - ایران - میباشد) در این موقع که جشن هزارمین سال او برپا میشود خواهش دارد از آثار طبی و فلسفی و یا ترجمهٔ آثار آن فیلسوف و طبیب معروف جهان بفراخور خود بوسیلهٔ انجمن آثار ملی یا مستقیماً هدیه فرمایند تا در کتابخانهٔ بو علی بنام خودشان ضبط و بر روزگاران باقی ماند -

وزیر فرهنگ
دکتر شمس الدین جزایری

رئیس هیئت مدیرهٔ انجمن آثار ملی
علی اصغر حکمت

یرجی مساعدة مکتبة ابن سینا في همدان

شیدت هذه المکتبة بجوار مرقد الفیلسوف الاکبر ابن سینا وهی تنتظر المساعدة من ادباء العالم و فضلائه فان جمعیة الآثار القومیة الایرانیه (انجمن آثار ملی) الواقعة فی شارع المتحف (خیابان موزه) فی طهران - ایران ترجو بمناسبة إقامة الذکری الالفیة للفیلسوف ان تهدوا الی المکتبة من الآثار الطبیة و الفلسفیة ما یلیق بذالک او تراجمها بحسب الاستطاعة و الامکان لکی تبقی محفوظة باسمکم الشریف فی مکتبة ابن سینا علی مر الایام هذا و یرجی ان تبینوا للجمعیة المذکورة مباشرة او بواسطة ممثلکم السیاسی او بأی نحو آخر تریدونه ما تودون اهدائه الی المکتبة المشار الیها -

وزیر المعارف ایران
الدکتور شمس الدین جزایری

رئیس الهیئة الاداریة للجنة الآثار الوطنیة
علی اصغر حکمت

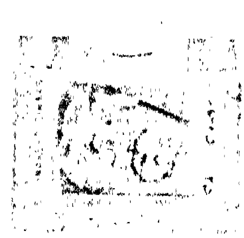
Avicenna Millenary Commemorative Stamps issued by the Government of Iran.











A. First series showing the relics of the Achæmenian Period.

AVICENNA MILLENARY COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS EXPLAINED

By

Dr. M. Ishaque B.Sc., M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

First Series showing the relics of the Achæmenian Period

15 rials—The bas-relief of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) seated on the royal throne with Xerxes and a noble standing in respect.

7.50 rials—The tomb of Cirus, the Great (559-529 B.C.) at Mashhad-i Murghāb (Pasargadæ).

3.75 rials—The ruins of the Hall of Mirrors at Takht-i Jamshīd (Persepolis).

1.50 rials—A bas-relief of a soldier of Jāwīdān at Takht-i Jamshīd (Persepolis).

0.75 rials—A bas-relief of the attack of a lion on a cow which appears at different places at Takht-i Jamshīd (Persepolis).

Second Series showing the relics of the Sassanian Period

15 rials—The bas-relief at Naqsh-i Rustam depicting Ardeshir I (226-241 A. D.), founder of the Sassanian dynasty, mounted on horseback receiving a ring that symbolises the gift of sovereignty from the god *Ahura Mazda* (Ormazd), who is also similarly mounted ; trampled beneath the feet of the horses lie the prostrate forms of Volagases and Artabanus, the last two kings of the Parthian dynasty.

7.50 rials—The palace of Khusraw Anūshirwān at Ctesiphon.

3.75 rials—The bas-relief depicting the capture of the Roman Emperor Valerian (260 A.D.) by Shapur I (241-271 A.D.) at Naqsh-i Rustam.

1.50 rials—The bas-relief of Narsī (282-301 A.D.) at Naqsh-i Rustam.

0.75 rials—The bas-relief of Ardeshir II (379-382 A. D.) at Ṭāq-i Bustān (Kirmanshahan).

Third Series showing the relics of the Saljūk Period

15 rials—The oldest coin containing the figures of the 'Lion and Sun' bearing the name of one of the Saljūk kings.

7.50 rials—The front view of the Jāmi' (Cathedral) Mosque at Ardistān.

3.75 rials—The Gunbad-i 'Alaviyyān (Mausoleum of the 'Alavīs) at Hamadān built by the Saljūk Sultans during the 2nd half of the 12th century.

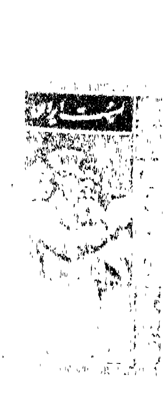
1.50 rials—The interior view of the Jum'ah Mosque, the mausoleum of Khwājah Hasan Nizamu'l-Mulk, the great statesman and administrator, during the reigns of Alp Arslān (1063-1071 A.D.) and Malikshāh (1072-1091) A.D. and author of a monumental work on the Art and Administration of Government (*Siyāsat-Nāmā*) at Isfahan.

0.75 rials—The Gunbad-i 'Ali at Abarqū.



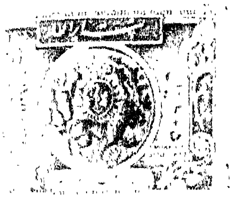




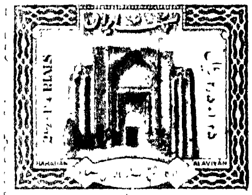




B. Second series showing the relics of the Sassanian Period.











C. Third series showing the relics of the Seljuk Period.

Each series consists of five stamps of the following denominations: 5 rials, 7.50 rials, 3.75 rials, 1.50 rials and 0.75 rial. The full value of each series is 28.50 rials equivalent to Rs. 4/4 in Indian coin. Each series illustrates the relics of the relevant period.

RECENSIONS

I

AL-BIRUNI COMMEMORATION VOLUME. A.H. 362-A.H. 1362. xxviii 303 pp., frontispiece. Calcutta: Iran Society, 1951. (Re. 40).

This splendid volume dedicated to al-Biruni's[1] memory was prepared to celebrate the first millennium of his birth which occurred in 1362 A.H.-1943 A.D., but many vicissitudes delayed its appearance until now. The existence of the *Festschrift* is largely due to the initiative and the perseverance of Father V. Courtois, S.J., President of the Iran Society, whose enthusiasm was so contagious that he managed to obtain the collaboration of many distinguished scholars.[2] The main interest in the collection is due to the fact that being edited and published in Calcutta, many of the papers treat B's relationship with India and with Sanskrit writings.

The papers are published in the alphabetical order of the authors' names, but it will be easier to appreciate the rich contents of this book if we consider them in order of subjects. It is natural to begin with the largest group.

I. India and Sanskrit—Dr. Alessandro Bausani, Professor of Persian at the University of Rome, compares the visions of India bequeathed by B and by the emperor Babar (c. 1482-1530) in the *Tarikh al-hind* of the former and the memoirs of the latter (Introd. 3, 1873). These two works are extremely different, for B was a man of science and a thinker, while Babar was a man of action ; B was an introvert, Babar as extrovert as one could be.

The Rev. C. Bulcke, S.J. of St. Xavier's College, Ranchi, discusses B's knowledge of the *Ramayana ;* that knowledge had been obtained by oral tradition rather than by systematic investigation. The larger question of B's familiarity with Sanskrit is treated by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of Calcutta University, who concludes that B's knowledge of Sanskrit was not profound, but wide and practical. His *Indica* includes a vocabulary of about 2500 Sanskrit words in Arabic transcription. B knew enough Sanskrit to translate into that language the *Elements* of Euclid, the *Almagest* and a treatise on the astrolabe ; no doubt he was helped by native scholars, or perhaps the work was done mainly by them, yet if he did nothing but supervise and correct them, that implied already an unusually good know-

[1] Hereafter quoted as B (without dot).

[2] I regret that I was not able to join in the celebration. When Fr. Courtois kindly invited me (in his letter dated Calcutta, 20 June, 1947), I was so deeply immersed in the completion of vol. 3 of my Introduction, that it was impossible for me to accept.

ledge. (How many western Sanskritists of today could do as much?) It is highly probable that B had begun his Sanskrit studies in Ghazna, Afghanistan, before his journey to India. Prof. Jan Gonda of Utrecht in his "Remarks on B's quotations from Sanskrit texts" strengthens our confidence in B as a Sanskrit. The Rev. Enrique Heras, S.J., Director of the Indian Historical Institute, Bombay, in "The Advaita doctrine in B" says that B never mentioned any Vedantic author yet clearly explained the foundation of the Advaita school.[3] Quoth B: " They consider the unity of God as absolute but that everything besides God which may appear as a unity is really a plurality of things. The existence of God they consider as a real existence, because everything that exists through him. It is not impossible to think that the existing beings are not and that He is; but it is impossible to think that He is not and that they are." Prof. Martino Mario Moreno of Rome studies B's art of exposition, how he managed to explain Hindu concepts to his readers and to translate verses of the *Bhagavad Gita* into rhythmical Arabic.

II. Arabic—Moreno's study might have been placed in this group ; for it concerns Arabic studies as well as Sanskrit ones. Dr. Mohammad Mo'in, Professor of Persian literature at the University of Tehran, gives us (in Persian) a study of B's mineralogic vocabulary in the *Kitab al-jamahir fi ma'rifat al-jawahir* and remarks that many of the terms are of pahlawi or avestic origin.

III. Greek—B's knowledge of Greek was rudimentary. Francesco Gabrieli, Professor of Arabic at the University of Rome, has examined B's quotations from Plato's Laws and concludes that B used an Arabic translation, probably the one by Hunain ibn Ishaq (IX-2) or Yahya ibn 'Adi (X-1).

IV. Science in general—Prof. Louis Massignon, of the College de France, explains B's Arabicism in the light of the international value of Arabic science. Janab Mohammad Abdur Rahman Khan, former Principal of Osmania University in Hyderabad, Deccan, gives a list of the many smaller treatises of B which have been recently published by the Da'irat al-ma'arif.

V. Mathematics—The only article devoted to pure mathematics is the one by M. A. Kazim, Lecturer in Mathematics in the Muslim University of Aligarh, on trigonometry.

VI. Astronomy, geodesy, mathematical geography—The most important, as well as the longest, paper in the whole book is the one by Syed Hasan Barani, Advocate in Bulandshahr, on Muslim geodesy ; it includes all the relevant texts in Arabic. According to his calculations, the early Muslim measurements of the circumference of the earth were remarkably precise. For the measurements made by order of al-Ma'mun (IX-1) the difference amounts to 151 miles (or 33 miles), for B the difference amounts to 71 miles. This

[3] Advaita means non-duality, or monism as explained by Sankara (IX-1) See Introd. (1, 561, 754).

study is a part of a much larger work on Muslim geodesy, as yet unpublished ; Mr. Barani is the author of a biography of B in Urdu which has been published twice. The late Johannes Hendrik Kramers of Leiden treats B's determination of geographical longitude by measuring the distances, and Dr. Fritz Krenkow of Cambridge, the MS. Sultan Fatih no. 3386, a MS. written by B himself in Ghazna, *Kitab...fi tahdid nihayat al-amakin wa tashih musafat al-masakin,* a geographical text of which long extracts are quoted in Arabic.

VII. Alchemy—M. Jean Filliozat, secretary of the Société Asiatique, to whom we owe already many studies on Hindu philosophy and medicine, gives us a new one on B and Hindu alchemy, including interesting references to South-eastern Asia.

VIII. History of Religions—Father Guiseppe Messina, S.J. of the Biblical Institute of the Vatican, discusses B's account of the Christian missionary efforts in Merv. To Prof. Arthur Jeffery of Columbia University we owe one of the longest and most important papers in the collection—B's contribution to comparative religion, concluding: "It is rare until modern times to find so fair and unprejudiced a statement of the views of other religions, so earnest an attempt to study them in the best sources, and such care to find a method which for this branch of study would be both rigorous and just".

IX. History—Prof. Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky of Cambridge discusses some of B's sources in the *Qanun Mas'udi* and in the *Tahdid al-amakin*. Prof. Jehangir C. Tavadia of Santiniketan, "B and orientalistics."

X. Generalities—Two general studies, the first in Urdu by Maulana 'Abd al-Salam Nadvi of the Dar al-Musannifin of Azamgarh, and the other in English by Arthur Upham Pope of the Asia Institute in New York. To these must be added the elaborate introduction by the editor, a poem by Khan Bahadur Reza Ali Wahshat of Calcutta and a preface by H. E. M. Noury-Esfandiary, Ambassador of Iran in New Delhi.

Thus have scholars of many countries, East and West, united to celebrate the fame of al-Biruni in English, French, Italian, Persian and Urdu. The greatest monuments to his fame are his own writings, some of which are available in excellent editions and translations, many only in the Arabic originals, while others are still awaiting publication. It is not yet possible to appreciate completely and exactly the sum and all the details of his achievements, but we are already certain that he was one of the greatest men of science and learning, not only of his time, but of the whole Middle Ages.

We are very grateful to Father Courtois, to the Iran Society of Calcutta and to every one of the learned scholars who have taken part in this millenary symposium.

GEORGE SARTON.

From I.S.I.S., Cambridge, Massachussets, U.S.A.
133/od. 43, 1952, pp. 268 fl)

II

AL-BIRUNI COMMEMORATION VOLUME, A.H. 362-A.H. 1362. A Symposium by eminent Orientalists to commemorate the Millenary (Hegira Years) of the Birth of the Great scholar of Khwarizm, Sheikh Abu Raihan Al-Biruni, Mathematician, Astronomer, Geographer and Historian, published by the Iran Society of Calcutta, 1951, p. 303.

Les principaux articles de ce vol. commemoratif sont signales dans la presente section. Compare au vol. commemoratif d'Avicenne, il met en relief l'aspect moderne et experimental de la methode scientifique d'Al-Biruni.

SYED HASAN BARANI, Muslim Researches in Geodesy.—Al-Biruni Comm. Vol., 1951, pp. 1-52.

Cette étude dediée à George Sarton est un très intéressant exemple de l'initiation d'un savant oriental à nos méthodes de raisonnement dans un domaine comme la Geodesie. On completera utilement l'étude de S.H.B. en recourant dans le même vol. à l'étude du regrette J. H. Kraemers, qui figure ci-après.

J. H. KRAEMERS, Al-Biruni's Determination of Geographical Longitude by measuring the Distances.—Al-Biruni Comm. Vol., Calcutta, 1951, pp. 177-194.

M. A. KAZIM, Al-Biruni and Trigonometry.—Al-Biruni Comm. Vol., Calcutta 1951, pp. 161-170.

(L.M.)

From REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIQUES, Paris France—Année 1952—Abstracta Islamica X p. 156.

III

AL-BIRUNI COMMEMORATION VOLUME. A.H.362-A.H.1362. xxvii—pp. 303 in 8vo. Calcutta (1951). Iran Society. Price: Rs. 40/-

AL-BĪRŪNĪ, ein Gelehrter von auszerordentlicher Vielseitigkeit—seine Schriften befassen sich mit Mathematik, Physik, Mineralogie, Medizin, Astronomie, Geographie, Geschichte und Philosophie—ist im Jahre der Hedsschra 362 (=973 n. Chr.) geboren. Nach der rein lunaren Hedschra—Chronologie fiel die tausendste Wiederkehr seines Giburtstages in das Jahr 1943 n. Chr. Sein Todesjahr war 440 H. (=1048 n. Chr.) Infolgedessen konnte 1948 auch das 900-Jahresgedächtnis seines Todes (nach dem solaren Kalender) begangen werden. Aus diesem doppelten Anlasz hat die Iran Society in Calcutta diesen stattlichen Band herausgebracht, an dessen 21 Beiträgen neben indischen und iranischen Gelehrten auch europaische und amerikanische Orientalisten beteiligt sind. Dasz diese Jubiläumsschrift gerade in Indien erschient, ist durchaus angebracht ; eine der glänzendsten Leistungen AL-BĪRŪNĪS ist ja seine "Beschreibung Indiens", die auf einem mehrjährigen Aufenthalt im Lande beruht. Daher behandelt ein groszer

Teil der Artikel seine Verdienste um die Erforschung Indiens, so seine Kenntnis des Sanskrit (S. K. CHATTERJI, J. GONDA, siehe auch M. M. MORNEO), der indischen Religionen (C. BULCKE, H. HERAS, A. JEFFERY), derindischen Alchimie (J. FILLIOZAT), usw. Wie weit sein geistiger Horizont war, zeigt die Studie von A. JEFFERY: AL-BĪRŪNĪ's Contribution to Comparative Religion, die mit dem Urteil schlieszt:

"It is rare until modern times to find so fair and unprejudiced a statement of the views of other religions, so earnest an attempt to study them in the best sources, and such care to find a method which for this branch of study would be both rigorous and just" (p. 160).

Ein anderes Zeichen seiner geistigen Weite ist AL-BĪRŪNĪS Hochschätzung der arabischen Sprache gegenuber seinem nordiranischen Heimatdialekt, die ihn veranlaszte, alle seine Werke in Arabisch zu verfassen, und ihn so au einem der glänzendsten Vertreter der arabischen Wissenschaft machte (vgl. darubcr die feinsinnigen Bemerkungen von L. MASSIGNON, pp. 217-219). Eine Persönlichkeit von solchem Format verdient die Anerkennung der internationalen Gelehrtenwelt, wie sie in der bunten Fulle dieser Gedächtnisschrift einen sprechenden Ausdruck gefundenhat.

JOSEPH HENNINGER.

(From ANTHROPOS, Posieux Switzerland, 48/1953 pp. 322).

IV

AL-BĪRŪNĪ COMMEMORATION VOLUME, A.H. 362-A.H. 1362. Iran Society 159-B Dharamtala Street, Calcutta 1951.

Aus Anlaß des 1000 jährigen — nach Higra-Jahren gerechneten — Geburtstags von al-Bīrūnī (362/973 bis 440/1048) hat die *Iran Society of Calcutta* diesen ansehnlichen Band unter Mitarbeit von orientalischen und europäischen Gelehrten herausgegeben. Die internationale Teilnahme zeigt die Bewunderung der gelehrten Welt für diesen einzigartigen islamischen Gelehrten, der als ein Forscher im modernen Sinn angesprochen werden kann. Es erübrigt sich, hier nochmals auf al-Bīrūnī's Leben und Werk einzugehen, nach dem al-Bīrūnī als Mathematiker, Astronom, Geograph und Historiker oft gewürdigt worden ist. Zur Orientierung hat der Herausgeber in der. "Introduction" einen kurzen Lebenslauf vorangestellt, bei dem man einen Hinweis auf den schönen, inhaltsreichen Aufsatz von MAX KRAUSE, *Al-Biruni. Ein iranischer Forscher des Mittelaters* (Islam 26, 1940, S. 1—15) vermißt. In dem Band sind 21 Aufsätze, die wissenschaftlich von unterschiedlichem Wert sind, in alphabetischer Reihenfolge der Verfassernamen, nicht sachlich dem Inhalt nach, zusammengestellt. Da man nicht erwarten kann, daß ich im Rahmen einer Besprechung zu allen Aufsätzen — für mehrere davon fühle ich mich gar nicht zuständig — kritisch Stellung nehme, begnüge ich mich,

kurz über die verschiedenen Aufsätze zu Berichten, was umso erwünschter sein wird, da das Werk nur weing bekannt und zur Hand sein dürfte. Folgenede Gegenstände werden behandelt:

1. SAYED HASAN BARANI (Bulandshahr), *Muslim Researches in Goodesy* (1—52) stellt die islamischen Nachrichten über Erdberechnung, die von den Gelehrten unter Al-Mā'mūn gemacht wurden, zusammen und geht dann auf die Behandlung bei Bīrūnī ein, der die Berechnung trigonometrisch nachgeprüft hat und zu höchst beachtlichen Ergebnissen gekommen ist: seine Messung des Erdradius bleibt ungefähr 12 Meilen, die des Globus-Umfangs um rund 70 Meilen hinter den modernen Forschungsergebnissen zurück.

2. ALESSANDRO BAUSANI (Rome) bietet in *L'India vista da due grandi personalità Musulmane*: *Bābar e Bīrūnī* (53—76) einen Vergleich, wie Bīrūnī im *Tārīh al-Hind* und Bäber in seinem *Bābernāma* Indien, das Land, die Flora und Fauna, kulturelle Dinge und Einrichtungen und religiöse Erscheinungen sehen und diese auf beide wirken. Während Bāber ausschließlich beschreibt, die indische Umwelt bewundert und reproduziert, geht Bīrūnī stets in die Tiefe, den Dingen auf den Grund und forscht nach der Ursache.

3. C. BULCKE S.J., (Ranchi) beschäftigt sich in seinem Beitrag *Al-Beruni and the Rāma-Kathā* (77—81) an Hand von Bīrūnī's *India* mit den Kenntnissen Bīrūnī's über die Rāmā-Legende. Der Verf. stellt alle Nachrichten über die Rāma-Geschichte zusammen und kommt zu dem Schluß, daß Bīrūnī weder das Rāmāyaṇa gelesen noch eine Handschrift davon gesehen hat, aber als Autor der Rāma-Geschichte Vālmīki kannte, den er zum Zeitgenossen von Rāma machte.

4. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI (Calcutta) untersucht *Al-Bīrūnī and Sanskrit* (83—100). Die in arabischer Transkription vorkommenden Sanskritwörter, von denen etwas 2500 in seinem *India* zu finden sind, haben für die indische Phonetik und Sprachgeschichte des 11. Jahrh, große Bedeutung. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß Bīrūnī schon in Ghazna mit dem Studium des Sanskrit und des West-Pandschabi begonnen hat; in Indien hat er es dann aber so weit gebracht, daß er sich verständigen, übersetzen oder zum mindesten Übersetzungen kontrollieren konnte, wie das der Fall was bei den von Pandits veranstalteten Übersetzungen von den Elementen des Euklid, des Almagast des Ptolomäus und seiner eigenen Schrift über das Astrolab, die heute verloren sind. CHATTERJI bespricht ferner die bilinguen Münzen, die arabisch und Sanskrit auf den Namen Maḥmūds von Ghazna geprägt wurden, und prüft die Übersetzungen, wie z. B. *Allāh* = *Avyakta*, *Rasūl Allāh* = *Muhammada-avatāra*, *Higrat al-Nabī* = *Jināyana-saṃvat*, *Bismillāh* = *Avyaktīya-nāme* (*nāmni*!), wobei er vermutet, daß die Gleichung *Allāh* = *Avyakta* von Bīrūnī selbst stammt.

5. In *Al-Bīrūnī et l'Alchimie Indienne* (101—105) hat JEAN FILLIOZAT (Paris) die spärlichen Nachrichten Bīrūnīs über indische Alchemie zusammengestellt und klärt dabei die Persönlichkeit eines gewissen Vyāḍi auf, der ein Alchemist in Ujjain unter der Regierung von Vikramāditya (57 v. Chr.) war.

6. FRANCESCO GABRIELI (Rome) untersucht sieben Zitate aus Platos *De legibus* in *Le Citazioni delle Leggi Platoniche in Al-Bīrūnī* (107—110) mit dem Ergebnis, daß Bīrūnī keine übliche Paraphrase, sondern eine richtige Übersetzung benutzt habe, die vielleicht von Ḥunain b. Isḥāq oder Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī stammen mag.

7. Mit Zitaten aus dem Viṣṇu-Purāṇa beschäftigt sich J. GONDA (Utrecht) in *Remarks on Al-Biruni's Quotations from Sanskrit Texts* (111—118), indem er die Namen und Zahl der Höllen und die verschiedenen Einwohner Indiens, wie sie Bīrūnī darstellt, mit den Angaben der Purāṇas untersucht. Fehler in der Transkription von Sanskrit-Wörtern fallen oft der arabischen Schrift zur Last. Im allgemeinen muß Bīrūnī große Zuverlässigkeit in seinen Textangaben zugesprochen werden.

8. H. HERAS, S.J., (Bombay) bespricht *The Advaita Doctrine in Al-Biruni* (119—123). Obgleich unter der Menge der von Bīrūnī erwähnten Sanskritwerke keine vedantischen Verfasser erwähnt, sind, so kann HERAS doch an einigen Beispielen nachweisen, daß Bīrūnī bei der Behandlung des Problems der Natur Gottes die Advaita-Lehre erklärt.

9. *Al-Bīrūnī's Contribution to Comparative Religion* (125—160) wird von A. JEFFERY (New York) mustergültig dargestellt. Nach dem wir im ersten Abschnitt *Methodology* erfahren haben, daß Bīrūnī die vergleichende Methode anwandte, die auf Originalen und zuverlässigen Quellen beruhen und mit den Grundsätzen der Wissenschaft (*completeness, accuracy, unbiased treatment*) übereinstimmen muß, bespricht JEFFERY in *Theoretical Discussions* allgemeine Probleme der Religion (*Idolatry, Sunna, Scripture, Cosmologies, Demons, Qibla, Burial Custums, Hall-marks*), un im dritten Abschnitt die Darstellung dessen zu geben, was Bīrūnī über die einzelnen von ihm in seinen Werken erwähnten Religionen zu sagen hat. Wenn wir auch heute bessere Quellen über diese Religionen besitzen, so ist Bīrūnīs Darlegung über Hinduismus, Buddhismus, Zoroastertum, Manichäismus, griechische und jüdische Religion, Islam höchst beachtenswert, so beachtenswert, daß JEFFERY schließt "it will suffice to show how important a place he has in the history of that study in general and within the fold of Islam in particular".

10. Trigonometrischen Fragen wendet sich M. A. KAZIM (Aligarh) in seinem Aufsatz *Al-Biruni and Trigonometry* (161—170) zu, indem er das dritte Buch des Qānūn al Masʿūdī analysiert und dem trigonometrischen Gehalt nach bespricht. Nach ihm war es Bīrūnī und nicht Ṭūsī, wie A. VON BRAUNMÜHL (der Name ist immer verunstaltet) meint, "who for the first time approached trigonometry as an independant subject". Übrigens hat der Verfasser übersehen, daß CARL SCHOY sein Werk *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des persischen Astronomen Abu'l-Raiḥān Muḥ. Ibn Aḥmad Al-Bīrūnī* Hannover 1927, diesem dritten Buch des Qānūn gewidmet hat.

11. MOHD. ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN (Hyderabad) *On the minor Tracts of Abu-Raīḥan Muḥmmad bin Aḥmad Al-Biruni* (171—175) zählt nach einigen

allgemeinen Bemerkungen über Bīrūnī die von der *Dā'irat ul-Ma'ārif* veröffentlichten oder zur Veröffentlichung vorgesehenen Titel der Rasā'il auf.

12. In *Al-Biruni's Determination of Geographical Longitude by Measuring the Distances* (177—193) bietet der verstorbene Prof. J. H. KRAMERS (Leiden) eine englische Übersetzung des zweiten Kapitels aus dem VI. Buch des Qānūn mit wertvollen Bemerkungen, wobei er die früher von C. SCHOY in seinem Aufsatz *Aus der astronomischen Geographie der Araber* (Isis V, 1923, S. 51—71) gegebene deutsche Übersetzung verbessert.

13. In *Bīrūnī and the MS. Sultan Fātiḥ No. 3368* (195—208) stellt zunächst (FR. KRENKOW (Cambridge) als richtige Namensform Bīrūnī fest und bietet auf Grund des *Kitāb fī Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin* nach der Hs. Fātiḥ No 3386 Auszüge aus der langen Einleitung über die Bedeutung der geographischen Wissenschaft in Übersetzung und arabischem Text.

14. Daß Bīrūnī in verständlicher und klarer Sprache seinen Lesern, die ihnen oft fremden Stoffe mitteilt, sucht der Aufsatz *L' Arte dell' Esporre in Al-Bīrūnī* (209—215) VON MARTINO MARIO MORÈNO (Roma) darzulegen, z. B. wie Bīrūnī den Muslimen die Hindu-Auffassung der Gottheit darlegt, wie er Stücke aus der Bhagavadgītā in arabischer Reimprosa bringt.

15. In seinem Beitrag *Al-Biruni et la Valeur Internationale de la Science Arabe* (217—219) geht L. MASSIGNON (Paris) davon aus, daß Bīrūnī nicht in seiner Heimatsprache, sondern auf Arabisch schrieb, und sein Leben außerhalb der arabischen Länder verbracht hat. "Biruni a parfaitement compris le rôle international de l'arabe comme principale langue sémitique de civilisation: sa puissance de condensation et d'abstraction, sa syntaxe interne par infixes significatifs, non par affixes accolés ; sa valeur d'unification, sa morphologie dominatrice," Bīrūnī hat das Ideal einer übernationalen Sprache erkannt.

16. GIUSEPPE MEESSINA, S. J. (Roma) geht in seinem gelehrten Aufsatz *Al-Biruni sugli inizi del Cristianesimo a Merv* (221—231) den Anfängen des Christentums in Verv nach auf Grund von Bīrūnī's Notiz "E nel giorno 21 (del mese Hazīrān = giugno) commemorazione del sacerdote Barshabba, il quale portò il Christianesimo in Merv circa 200 anni dopo Cristo", die er an Hand von weiteren Quellen eingehend untersucht.

17. Wie SACHAU die indischen und griechischen Quellen Bīrūnīs festgestellt hat, handelt V. MINORSKY (Cambridge) *On some of Bīrūnī's Informants* (233—36). Der Vef. kann festellen, daß Bīrūnī einen Teil seiner Kenntnisse über China und die Mongolei durch die Gesandten von Qitay und Yughur an den Hof Sultan Mahmuds erhalten hat, wie Bīrūnī selbst im *Kitāb al-gamāhir,* S. 83, angibt, ferner seine Kenntnisse über die Warank und die Polar-Gegenden durch Wolga-Bulgaren, und daß er nach seinem eigenen Urteil im *Ṣaydana* einen Griechen nach den griechischen Pflanzennamen ausfragte.

18. Der von MOHAMMAD MOIN (Teheran) persisch geschriebene Beitrag *Ba'z-i Fawa'id-i lugawī-yi Kitāb al-Gamāhīr-i Bīrūnī* (237—49) untersucht

philologisch-linguistisch eine Reihe von termini technici z. B. *āzorsust, nabharag, hud-i huruh, roznāmgah* usw., deren Ursprung Pehlewi oder Avesta ist.

19. Der Urdu geschriebene Aufsatz *Al-Bīrūnī* (251—279) VON MAULANA ABDUS SALAM NADVI (Azamgarh) ist eine Biographie, die auf Grund der bekannten biographischen arabischen Werke zusammengestellt ist.

20. ARTHER UPHAM POPE (New York) würdigt *Al-Biruni as a thinker* (281—285) und als letzten 21. Beitrag betrachtet J. C. TAVADIA (Santiniketan) *Al-Bīrūnī and Orientalistics* (287—291), der nach ihm als "a worker in the field of Orientalistics in the modern sense" anzusprechen ist, da ihn reiner Wissensdrang und Wahrheitsliebe leiteten. Der Verfasser zeigt an Hand von Beispielen, wie viel an indischen Altertümern und Bemerkungen über Vorstellungen und Sitten anderer Völker in Bīrūnī's Werken zu finden ist, so daß darüber ein Kommentar in Zusammenarbeit mit verschiedenen Gelehrten gemacht werden sollte.

Diese Inhaltsangabe vermittelt einen Eindruck von dem reichen, verschiedenartigen Stoff, der in diesem schön aufgemachten Jubiläumsband geboten wird. In den Aufsätzen einiger Verfasser hätte der verdienstvolle Herausgeber, V. COURTOIS, S. J., bedenkenlos die Wiederholungen über Bīrūnīs Leben und Werke streichen können. Auch wir sind uns mit den Verfassern über die Bewertung Bīrūnīs einig, die ich zum Schluß mit den Worten A. U. POES ausdrücken möchte: "Al-Biruni must rank high in any list of the world's great scholars. No history of mathematics, astronomy, geography, anthropology, or history of religion is complete without acknowledgement of his immense contribution. One of the oustanding minds of all time, distinguished to a remarkable degree by the essential qualities which have made possible both science and social studies, Al-Biruni is a demonstration of the universality and timelessness of a great mind. One could compile a long series of quotations from Al-Biruni written a thousand years ago that anticipate supposedly modern intellectual attitudes and methods."

OTTO SPIES,
BONN

(From ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGEN LÄNDISCHEN GESSELSCHAFT, Wisbaden Western Germany, Heft, 1 des, 103 jg, pp. 213-216, 1953).

V

AL-BIRUNI COMMEMORATION VOLUME. A.H. 362-A.H. 1362, Iran Society, Calcutta 1951, xxviii—303 Pp.

Nel 1948 si compivano 900 anni del nostro calendario dalla morte di al-Biruni. Nel 1943 cadeva d'altra parte l'anno dell'egira 1362, cioe un

millennio dell'era musulmana dalla nascita (362/937) del grande scienziato. Ravvicinando e combinando insieme le due date, si poteva parlare in questi anni decorsi di un millenario biruniano, e in tale occasione la Iran Society di Calcutta si e fatta promotrice di un volume commemorativo, formayo di saggi di vari studiosi orientali ed europei. Basta pensare alle vicende dell'India in questi ultimi anni, con la secessione dell'India musulmana e tutto cio che l'ha accompagnata per comprendere quali difficolta abbian dovuto sormontare gli organizatori, e in primo luogo il benemerito segretario della Societa, il P. V. Courtois. Cio spiega anche il ritardo del volume rispetto alla data centenaria. Ma il volume e alfine uscito, e compensa dell'attesa.

I ventidue capitolic che lo compongono toccano i piu svariati punti della poliedrica personalita di al-Biruni, scienziato geografo, storico, matematico, indianista ; manca purtroppo la progettata "Bibliografia biruniana", ma v'e un capitolo d'insieme (poco accessibile in verita, perche in urdu) sulla vita e l'opera dell'autore, a cura di Abdus-Salam Nadvi. Tra i collaboratori europei, natiamo il compianto Kramers, il Krenkow, il Philliozat, il Massignon, il Minorsky. Gli Italiani han dato quattro contributi: il P. G. Messina, anch'egli purtroppo nel frattempo scomparso, esamina in un'acuta indagine storico-geografica le notizie fornite da al-Biruni sugli inizi del Cristianesimo a Merv ; M. M. Moreno parla del-l'Arte dell'esporre in al-Biruni, saggiata tra l'altro su alcune citazioni biruniane della Bhagavadghita: A. Bausani mette a raffronto l'India vista da Baber (nel Babur-Name) in una visione colorita, plastica, descrittiva, con quella di al-Biruni, che si interessa essenzialmente del mondo delle idee, delle dottrine fisiche e religiose ; F. Gabrieli analizza Le citazioni delle Leggi platoniche in al-Biruni, confrontandole con l'epitome farabiana dei Nomoi, di prossimo pubblicazione.

Ill volume onora la Iran Society, e testimonia l'interesse che l'India tutta, anche se tagliata in due, serba per il suo grande indagatore musulmano. Rincresce notare, per quanto sappiamo, che mulla di simile e stato prodotto in Europa nel millenario biruniano, ne in quella Unione Sociotica pur cosi sollecita delle sue glorie anche orientali e orientalistiche (al-Biruni come Avicenna sarebbe oggi un cittadino del sovietico Uzbekistan). Ci auguriamo di essere male informati, e che il millenario del piu grande scienziato islamico del Medioevo non esaurisca la sua bibliografia in questo bel volume (si veda almeno L. Heilmann, in RSO, XXVI, Pp. 57-66).

FRANCESCO GABREELI

(From ORIENTE MODERNO, Rome, Italy, July-August 1952 Pp. 209 fl)

VI

University Library.

Tubingen, 26th August, '53.
Wilhelmstrasse 32.
Wi/Ku/Dl

To

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

Through:

The German Embassy,
New Delhi.

Dear Sirs,

The Library of the Tubingen University is very grateful for the Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume, so generously handed over by you to the German Embassy in New Delhi and forwarded to us through the good offices of the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft".

It may be mentioned that our Library is one of the centres for collecting so-called "Orientalia" Therefore, we are particularly aware of the unsurpassed genius of Al-Biruni whose influences reach, indeed, very far and who, in Germany too, is greatly admired and venerated. The volume so kindly donated by you is an enrichment of our library. It is highly appreciated by the competent scholars. Whereas other works of and on Al-Biruni have been available here, just the one donated by you has been missing and fills a keenly-felt gap. I, therefore, am deeply obliged for this meritorious gift and convey my warmest thanks to you.

Dr. Widmann,
First Librarian
For: The Director.

No. ICCR/156/53-5386. October, 22, 1953.

Copy forwarded to Dr. M. Ishaque, Secretary, Iran Society, Calcutta, for information.

S. H. Burney
Secretary, ICCR.

VII

WESTDEUTSCHE BIBLIOTHEK
(Sammlungen der ehem.
Preu Bischen Staatsbibliothek)

MARBUG/L, den 11, August, 1953.
Universitatsstrabe 25
TELEFON 3681

To:

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations,
New Delhi,
India.

Sir,

It is with high pleasure that we acknowledge receipt of the Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume so kindly presented to this library. The Iran Society of Calcutta which has published this valuable work on the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of Al-Biruni's birth, must be congratulated for having taken the initiative and shown the world again what great genius the Eastern mind has brought forth in the personality of this sublime man and thinker. Among the multifold sides of the scholarship of Al-Biruni his endeavours to describe and understand contemporaneous India as well as her history and spirit will always be remembered as one of the finest tasks ever undertaken by learned men.

We thank you very heartily for this admirable volume consisting of the contributions of first-rank scholars all over the world, and hope not to appear immodest when we express our desire to remain in contact with you and to acquire also other publications of the Iran Society. At the same time we are posting to your address a catalogue of Jaina Manuscripts stored in our Library, and a pamphlet on books dealing with the East, that have been published during the wearisome years after the war.

Yours faithfully,
EILERS

No. ICCR/156/5387 October 22, 1953.

Copy forwarded to Dr. M. Ishaque, Secretary, Iran Society, Calcutta, for information.

S. H. BURNE
Secretary, ICCR.

BOOK REVIEW

THE Modern Persian Dictionary: Persian-Urdu-English, compiled by Prof. F. D. Razi, Government College, Shahpur (Pakistan), assisted by Mr. U. Rasheed Ahmed, M.A., of the Pakistan Embassy in Tehran (Iran) and revised by Allama Saeed-I-Nafeesi, Prof. Ahmed Bahmanyar, Prof. Dr. Mohammad Moeen and Prof. Dr. Lutfali Suratgar of the University of Tehran (Iran); Lahore, 1952, Pp. i-iv and 240 (Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, Lahore). Price not mentioned.

This handy trilingual dictionary would render great help to the student community at large and the general public. The author has spared no pains to make it up-to-date by personally undertaking several journeys to Iran for consulting eminent Professors of the Iranian language and other available materials. The main purpose of the author is to present in a single volume some 20,000 new words, phrases, idioms and scientific and technical terms with illustrations and usages that have developed during the last 50 years due to natural processes like the social, economic and political changes coming over the face of the country. The importance of the volume lies in the fact that it comes to the aid of the interested public and the student community where the standard and voluminous dictionaries fail. The volume is sure to have a wide market in view of its good qualities. The printing and binding of the book leave nothing to be desired. A long list of errata has also been included in the book for guidance.

NEWS



Aqa Sarwar Goya I'timadi

On the evening of the 31st December, 1952 the Iran Society was pleased to accord a hearty reception to Aqa Sarwar Goya I'timadi, Literary Adviser to the Ministry of Education, Government of Afghanistan and a Lecturer in Persian. Aqa I'timadi was given a fitting reception by the President and the Council of the Iran Society at a pleasant evening party where several ardent educationists were also present. Aqa I'timadi enlightened the entire audience about the rapid progress made by the Afghan Government in recent times in the field of education, the establishment of the Kabul University, the manning of its staff by several Indian Professors, the opening of various courses of studies of Indian interest like Sanskrit, Philosophy, Natural Sciences etc. and the ungrudging help rendered to the said University by several Indian Universities through the good offices of the Government of India under the Ministries of External Affairs and Education, New Delhi.

Aqa I'timadi was highly pleased to learn the sincere service rendered by the Iran Society in the field of culture between nations, particularly between Iranian-speaking nations. He evinced keen interest in the different departments of the Society. He wished to be of some service to the Society.

Light refreshments were served to those present before the closure of the day's function.



The late Al-Hadj Maulvi Abdul Halim
Patron and Founder-Member of the Iran Society

NECROLOGY

The Iran Society regrets to record the sad demise of one of its Patrons and prominent Life Members in the person of the late lamented Al-Hadj Maulvi Abdul Halim. This sad event took place on the 4th October, 1952 at his Calcutta residence at 159-B, Dharamtala Street at the ripe old age of 73.

The late Al-Hadj Maulvi Abdul Halim was the son of late Al-Hadj Abdur Rahim of Arrah, Bihar and was one of the pioneer button merchants of the city.

Besides being a straight-forward business man he associated himself with many a social, cultural and charitable institutions of this great city. He was a Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation during 1925 and 1928, a member of the Muslim Burial Board, a Patron of the Iran Society and for a long time a member of the Executive Committee of the Calcutta Muslim Orphanage.

In 1944 he donated Rs. 15,000/- to the Calcutta University for creating the Abdul Halim Travelling Fellowship for higher Persian studies and research in Iran. The Iran Society is also very much indebted to him for his munificence of Rs. 2,000/- towards the Building Fund of the Society.

He is mourned by his two brothers, one sister, two daughters and five sons, the eldest of whom is studying in Faraday House, London.

He was honoured with the title of Khan Sahib in 1938.

OURSELVES

It has been the sad lot of the Society to record the sudden demise of Al-Hadj Khan Sahib Maulvi Abdul Halim, a Patron and a Founder-Member of the Society close on the heels of the death of another Founder-Member and Assistant Secretary of the Society in the person of the late Mr. Dinshaw H. Mehta on 22nd July last. This sad event took place on the 4th October, 1952 at the Calcutta residence of the Khan Sahib. Though several weeks past the Khan Sahib was keeping indifferent health, yet none could foresee his death was approaching so soon. The late Abdul Halim took fatherly interest in the affairs of the Society since its inception. He was the mentor and guide of the Society. He opened his purse-strings lavishly to aid the Society in tiding over its initial financial difficulties.

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Two part-time Editorial Assistants—one for the English section and another for the Persian section were appointed for better publication of the Indo-Iranica.

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The President Rev. Fr. V. Courtois and the Hony. Secretary Dr. M. Ishaque waited on the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister, Government of India at New Delhi on the 8th December, 1952. They submitted a memorandum to the Government of India in the Ministry of Education on the urgent necessity of financial help to the Society in erecting a house of its own for sustained efforts in the direction of fostering closer cultural relations between India and Iran. They were given a patient hearing by the Maulana and were assured that the Government of India would try their utmost towards the cause.

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Aqa Sarwar Goya I'timadi, an official in the Ministry of Education, Government of Afghanistan visited the Society on the 31st December, 1952 and evinced keen interest in the multifarious cultural work of the Society.

از آثار فیلسوف بزرگ ایرانی شیخ‌الرئیس ابو علی سینا

بقلم آقای حسین کوهی کرمانی مدیر روزنامه «نسیم صبا» تهران

این شعرها را از جُنگ خطی متعلق بشاعر با ذوق آقای نیمایوشیج که در زمان صفویه نوشته شده بود ما بدست آوردیم البته خوانندگان متوجه باشند که شعر شماره ۴ و شعر شماره ۶ هر دو در یک قافیه است بدین تفاوت که شعر ششم بیاسوذم هست چون نسخهٔ منحصر بفرد بود ما عین آن شعرها را چاپ کردیم خوانندگان بر ما منت گذارده هر نظری در این خصوص دارند بما بنویسند یا اگر کسی نسخهٔ دیگری از این شعرها بدست آورد دیگر بهتر ما را مستحضر فرمایند خیلی ممنون میشویم :

(۱) روزکی چند در جهان بودم　　اندر آن خاک باد پیمودم
(۲) گاهی از لطف و لحظهٔ در قهر　　جان پاکیزه را بپالودم
(۳) آتشی بر فروختم از دل　　و آب دیده از آن بیالودم
(۴) با هوس‌های حرص شیطانی　　خویشتن را دمی نیاسودم
(۵) آخر الامر چون بر آمد کار　　رفتم و تخم کشته بدرودم
(۶) گوهر یاد شد بگوهر خویش　　من از آن خستگی بیاسوذم
(۷) کس ندانست من کجا رفتم　　من ندانم که در کجا بودم

این نکته را نیز میتوان گمان برد که ایرانیان قبل از اسلام در بحث از کیفیت حدوث حروف روش خاصی داشته اند که با واسطه یا بی‌واسطه بابو علی سینا رسیده است . اما برای تأیید این گمان هنوز هیچ گونه سند و مدرک و حتی قرینه‌ای وجود ندارد .

* * *

درباره مطالب این رساله مجال بحث وسیع است اما چون نگارنده متن رساله را تصحیح و بفارسی ترجمه کرده و حواشی مفصل بآن افزوده و در دست طبع دارد اکنون بهمین مختصر اکتفا میکند .

علم حروف مأخوذ از هندوان باشد . اما در این فصل قرائنی هست که دلالت میکند بر اینکه مطالب آن از علم یونانی مأخوذ است . از آن جمله نام غضروفهای حنجره است که ظاهرا ترجمه اصطلاحات یونانی است . کلمات ''دَرقی،، و ''تُرسی،، بمعنی (سپروار)، در مقابل Thyroide در زبانهای اروپائی، ظاهرا ترجمه Thuroeidês, یونانی است که باین صورت معنی ''دریچه شکل،، داشته اما بر اثر تحریف نساخ یونانی بصورت Thureoeidês, در آمده و معنی ''سپروار،، یافته است[1] در مورد این کلمه حتی میتوان گمان برد که ''درقی،، مصحف ''درفی،، بمعنی ''دریچه‌ای،، یعنی مفهوم اصلی کلمه یونانی باشد، و بنابر این هر دو صورت این اصطلاح بالفاظ عربی ترجمه شده است . کلمهٔ ''طرجهاری،، یا ''طرجهالی،، که بمعنی ''قدح شکل،، است نیز ظاهرا ترجمه کلمه یونانی Arytenoeidês. است که جزء اول آن بمعنی ''مشربه،، و ''ظرف آب،، بوده است . اصل لفظ طرجهالی را نمیدانم چیست . در شعر ابو نواس ''طرجهاره،، بمعنی قدح بزرگ آمده است . در اینکه این لفظ در عربی دخیل است شکی نیست . شاید اصل آن فارسی یا هندی بوده باشد .

این قرائن و قرائن دیگر نشان میدهد که شیخ در فصل تشریح حنجره و لسان بعلوم یونانی نظر داشته اگرچه ایشان در بحث از حروف باین نکات توجه نمیکرده اند .

از این مقدمات شاید بتوان حدس زد که ابو علی سینا از روش هندیان در بحث حروف آگاهی داشته و اگرچه خود زبان سنسکریت نمیدانسته و شاید هرگز مستقیما بکتابهای هندی در این باب دسترس نیافته اما اجمالا از روش ایشان آگاه شده و آنرا پسندیده و در تحقیقات خود بکار برده است .

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(۱) A. Dauzat, Dictionnaire étymologique.

ابو علی سینا، چنانکه در ذکر عنوان فصول رسالهٔ ''مخارج الحروف،، گذشت، رساله خود را با بحثی درباره کیفیت حدوث صوت آغاز کرده و سپس از سبب حدوث حروف گفتگو بمیان آورده، آنگاه پیش از آنکه بتوصیف یک یک حروف زبان عربی و خصوصیات هر یک بپردازد فصلی در تشریح حنجره و زبان و وصف اعضای گفتار پرداخته است.

این سه فصل مقدمه تا آنجا که نویسنده میداند در هیچیک از رسالات و مباحثی که پیش از شیخ دربارهٔ تلفظ حروف و علم تجوید نوشته شده وجود ندارد.

بنابر این جای تحقیق و بحث است در اینکه اتخاذ این روش و ترتیب ابتکار خود ابو علی سیناست یا اقتباس از جائی دیگرست.

خود شیخ در مقدمهٔ رساله و در فصل ثانی دو جا تصریح کرده است که اختلاف حروف را بحسب مسموع در نظر دارد و مورد بحث قرار میدهد. این روش چنانکه ذکر شد روش یونانیان است. اما مطالب رسالهٔ ''مخارج الحروف،، خلاف این نکته را نشان میدهد باین معنی که در طی فصول رساله، شیخ باسباب حدوث حروف توجه دارد. و در این باب بحث میکند و از صفات حروف که در آثار مؤلفان دیگر مانند ابن درید آمده و بیشتر شامل ذکر کیفیت استماع حروف است در این رساله گفتگوئی نیست.

فصل سوم رساله بتشریح دقیق اعضای نطق یعنی حنجره و زبان اختصاص دارد. مطالب این فصل را در هیچیک از بحثهائی که پیش از شیخ درباره کیفیت حدوث حروف شده است نمیتوان دید. یونانیان در بحث از حروف بمخارج هر یک، آنهم با این دقت، توجهی نداشته و حتی این معنی را خوب نمیشناخته اند[۱] بنابر این بنظر میآید که روش بحث از اعضای نطق در مقدمهٔ

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(۱) M. Grammont, Traité de Phonétique, p. 30.

یونانیان حروف ملفوظ را بحسب کیفیت سمع مورد بحث قرار میدادند و طبقه بندی میکردند و بکیفیت حدوث حروف و عمل اعضاء تلفظ توجهی نداشتند[۱].

اما هندوان بخلاف ایشان اساس این علم را بر کیفیت حدوث حروف قرار داده بودند و باین سبب علم حروف هندی در توصیف صوتهای ملفوظ بسیار دقیق‌تر از علم یونانی بود.

اروپائیان در دوره قرون وسطی و عصر تجدد همان علم یونانی را که با واسطهٔ دانشمندان لاتینی اخذ و اقتباس کرده بودند می‌آموختند و اساس کار خود را بر آن مینهادند.

اما در قرن نوزدهم امری که موجب ترقی سریع و ناگهانی این علم در اروپا شد آشنائی اروپائیان با زبان سنسکریت و کشف بستگی و خویشاوندی این زبان با زبانهای اروپائی بود که ''علم تطبیق و مقایسه زبانها،، را بوجود آورد.

اروپائیان بسیاری از اصول علم حروف را از هندوان آموختند و مقایسه زبانها از یکطرف و تجربیات علمی و فیزیکی از طرف دیگر دامنه این علم را چنان توسعه داد که خود فنی مستقل شد و در ردیف علوم دقیق در آمد.

اما علم حروف در تمدن اسلامی، که تجوید و ترتیل خوانده میشود، چون اختصاص بزبان عربی داشت و بندرت از بعضی حروف یکی دو زبان دیگر اسلامی (آنهم فقط برای نشان دادن اختلاف آنها با حروف مشابه در عربی و احتراز از اشتباه) گفتگو میکرد در شمار علوم دینی و قرآنی در آمد و شاید بهمین سبب در اروپا مورد اقتباس و استفاده قرار نگرفت و اروپائیان در زمانهای بسیار جدید با آن آشنا شدند.

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(۱) رجوع کنید به: J. Vendryes, Traité d'accentuation grecque, Paris, 1945, p. 7, et Suiv.
Roudet, Eléments de Phonétique générale, Paris, 1910.
M. Grammont, Traité de Phonétique, Paris, 1946, pp. 11 et 30.

بنابر این از سه فصل اول دو روایت موجودست که یکی روایت متن اول نسخه مجلس (نسخه ۱) و نسخه مورخ ۸۸۰ کتاب خانهٔ اونیورسیته استانبول (نسخه ۳) و نسخه چاپی (نسخه‌های ۶ و ۷) میباشد، و دیگری که روایت نسخه‌های ایا صوفیه (نسخه ۴) و نسخه مهدوی (نسخهٔ ۵) است.

از سه فصل دوم نیز دو روایت در دست است: یکی روایت متن نسخهٔ مجلس و روایت نسخهٔ چاپی: دیگری روایت ذیل نسخهٔ مجلس و نسخه‌های اونیورسیته (نسخهٔ ۳) و ایا صوفیه (نسخهٔ ۴) و مهدوی (نسخه ۵).

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قدیم‌ترین جائی که در تاریخ علوم اسلامی بحث از کیفیت حدوث حروف و مخارج آنها بمیان میآید در کتاب سیبویه (متوفی سال ۱۷۷) است[1]. اکثر علمای لغت از او پیروی کرده و همان تقسیمات و اصطلاحات او را ذکر کرده اند اما بعضی مانند ابن درید[2] (متوفی ۳۲۱) نکته‌هائی بر آن افزوده اند.

علمای اسلامی نخست حروف را بر حسب مخارج آنها طبقه بندی کرده و سپس بحسب کیفیت سمع صفاتی برای هر دسته از آنها آورده اند. بنابر این در وصف و طبقه بندی حروف بدو نکته توجه داشته اند: یکی کیفیت حدوث حرف و دیگر کیفیت استماع آن.

دربارهٔ اصل و منشأ علم حروف در تمدن اسلامی از کتب و روایات عرب طلاعی بدست نمیآید. پیش از مسلمانان این علم نزد دو ملت دیگر وجود داشته و هر یک بطریقی درباره اوصاف و خصوصیات حروف ملفوظ بحث میکرده اند. این دو ملت عبارتند از یونانیان و هندوان.

بنیاد گرامر یونانی که لفظ آن بمعنی علم *Γγάμμᾰ* یعنی علم حروف است از فیلسوفان قدیم یونانی مانند افلاطون و ارسطو و ابیقوریان و کلبیان است اما نخستین بار قواعد زبان یونانی که بیشتر شامل اصول تلفظ و توصیف حروف بود در اواخر قرن سوم پیش از میلاد در اسکندریه تدوین شد.

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(۱) چاپ بولاق - جلد دوم - ص ۴۰۷ — ۴۱۰

(۲) در مقدمهٔ جمهرة اللغة - چاپ حیدر آباد - جلد اول - ص ۶ — ۱۰

عبارات سه فصل اول در نسخه‌های ۴ (ایا صوفیه) و ۵ (سهدوی) مطابق است و اختلاف این دو نسخه باهم بسیار جزئیست. ولی با عبارات همین فصول در نسخه‌های ۱ و ۳ و چاپی که از مقابله نسخه‌های ۶ و ۷ فراهم شده اختلاف دارد.

چون ناشر نسخهٔ چاپ مصر اختلاف نسخ را بدست نداده و نویسنده شخصا نسخه‌های مصر و بریتیش میوزیم را ندیده است اکنون بیقین نمیتواند دربارهٔ آنها نظری اظهار کند. اما گمان میرود که متن آن دو نسخه نیز در سه فصل اول چنانکه از نسخهٔ چاپی بر میآید مطابق با نسخه‌های ۱ و ۳ باشد.

بنابر این از سه فصل اول این رساله دو روایت بدست است: یکی روایت نسخه‌های ۴ و ۵ و دیگری روایت نسخه‌های دیگر.

اما در عبارات سه فصل آخر رساله نیز همین اختلاف موجودست. در نسخهٔ کتاب خانهٔ مجلس شورای ملی ایران (نسخه ۱) که قدیم‌ترین نسخهٔ موجود از این رساله بشمار میرود پس از پایان رساله قسمتی هست با این عنوان:

"الفصل الرابع و الخامس و السادس من هذه الرساله فی نسخة اخری مخالفة لما فی هذه النسخه".

این سه فصل که عنوان و مطالب آنها درست مطابق با عنوانها و مطالب سه فصل اخیر متن رساله است در عبارت با فصول مذکور اختلاف کلی دارد. بعضی نکته‌ها در اینجا هست که در متن نیست و بعضی مطالب متن ترک شده است. اما حاصل معنی در هر دو روایت یکیست و چنانکه گفته شد بنظر میآید که مؤلف رساله بار دیگر همان معانی را مستقلا تحریر کرده است.

عبارتهای متن اول نسخهٔ مجلس در این سه فصل مطابق است با عبارات همین سه فصل از نسخهٔ چاپی. ولی عبارات ذیل نسخهٔ مجلس با عبارتهای نسخه‌های اونیورسیته (نسخه ۲) و ایا صوفیه (نسخه ۴) و سهدوی (نسخه ۵) مطابقت دارد.

۵ — نسخهٔ متعلق به آقای دکتر یحیی مهدوی استاد دانشگاه تهران که در آن نام رساله مذکور نیست و کتابت آن در سال ۵۹۷ هجری انجام یافته و مطلب در آن با عبارت ''قال الشیخ الرئیس،، شروع میشود .

۶ — نسخهٔ خزانهٔ تیموریهٔ مصر که بشمارهٔ ۲۰۰ ثبت شده است .

۷ — نسخهٔ کتاب خانهٔ موزهٔ بریتانیائی که برقم add, 16,659 ثبت است و آن جزء مجموعهٔ تصنیفات ابو علی سینا ست که در سال ۱۱۸۲ کتابت شده و عنوان این قسمت ''رسالة فی حدوث الحروف،، است و خصوصیات این نسخه در فهرست کتابهای خطی بریتیش میوزیم تألیف چارلز ریو در صفحهٔ ۷۴۴ ذکر شده است .

این دو نسخهٔ اخیر را محب الدین خطیب مقابله کرده و در سال ۱۳۳۲ در مطبعة المؤید قاهره بعنوان ''اسباب حدوث الحروف تصنیف الرئیس ابی علی الحسین بن سینا،، به چاپ رسانیده است .

مطالب این رساله در همهٔ نسخه‌ها بشش فصل تقسیم میشود . از این قرار:

۱ — فی سبب حدوث الصوت .

۲ — فی سبب حدوث الحروف .

۳ — فی تشریح الحنجره و اللسان .

۴ — فی الاسباب الجزئیة لحرفٍ حرفٍ من حروف العرب .

۵ — فی الحروف الشبیهة بهذه الحروف .

۶ — فی أن هذه الحروف قد تسمع من حرکات غیر نطقیه .

اما عبارتها در همهٔ نسخه‌ها یکسان نیست اگرچه مضمون مطالب همه جا کم و بیش یکیست .

رسالهٔ مخارج حروف

بقلم آقای پرفسور پرویز ناتل خانلری

در فهرست تألیفات ابو علی سینا که در مراجع و منابع مختلف آمده است بنام دو رساله بر میخوریم: یکی بنام ''اسباب حدوث الحروف،، یا ''رسالة حدوث الحروف،، دیگری بعنوان ''مخارج الحروف و صفاتها،،.

این دو عنوان چنانکه از مطالب ذیل آشکار میشود ظاهراً نام یک رساله یا دو تحریر از یک مطلب است و تا آنجا که نگارنده اطلاع یافته نسخه‌های ذیل از آن وجود دارد:

۱ — نسخهٔ کتاب خانهٔ مجلس شورای ملی ایران که در مجموعهٔ رسائلی بشمارهٔ ۹۹ ثبت است و این رساله از رویهٔ ب صفحهٔ ۱۰۰ تا رویهٔ ب صفحهٔ ۱۷۱ را گرفته اما ورق ۱۶۸ از این میان افتاده است ـ این نسخه در سال ۵۶۹ هجری کتابت شده و تا آنجا که نویسنده این سطور میداند قدیم‌ترین نسخهٔ موجود از این رساله است و عنوان آن ''رسالة عن ابی علی ابن سینا فی مخارج الحروف،، میباشد.

۲ — نسخهٔ کتاب خانهٔ اونیورسیتهٔ استانبول مورخ بسال ۵۷۸.

۳ — نسخهٔ کتاب خانهٔ اونیورسیتهٔ استانبول مورخ بسال ۵۸۸ بعنوان ''رسالة فی اسباب حدوث الحروف و اسباب اختلافها،،.

۴ — نسخهٔ کتاب خانهٔ ایا صوفیه بشماره ۴۸۴۹ که تاریخ ندارد و ظاهرا در قرون ششم و هفتم هجری کتابت شده است. و نام رساله در آخر آن چنین نوشته شده: ''تمت رسالة مخارج الصوت و الحروف لابی علی رحمة الله تعالی،،.

پخش اعلاناتی بزبان فرانسه و انگلیسی و عربی و فارسی از دانشمندان و کتابخانه‌ها و سایر موسسات خواسته شده است که انتشارات خود را برای غنی ساختن این کتابخانه ارسال نمایند.

امیدوار است که هرچه بهتر و با حسن وجوه ممکن انجمن آثار ملی بتواند درخور مقام و شان شیخ و متناسب با شایستگی و لیاقت ایران و ایرانیان این امر بزرگ را بپایان رسانیده افتخار دیگری بر افتخار ایرانیان بیفزاید و یکبار دیگر دنیای دانش را متوجه سرزمین دانش پرور و فرهنگ دوست ایران که پیوسته یکی از مراکز مهم تمدن جهانی بوده و در ساختمان فرهنگ عمومی جهان و تمدن عظیم بشریت سهم بزرگی داشته است بنماید.

کمیسیون مخصوصی مورد مطالعه قرار میگیرد در موعد مقرر بوسیله وزارت خارجه دعوت بعمل خواهد آمد و اطلاع داده خواهد شد که در موقع شرکت در کنگره از آخرین نظریات و تحقیقات خویش مدعوین را مستفیض نمایند و همچنین دانشمندان ایرانی که با ایراد نظریات و اطلاعات گرانبهای خویش باید موجب سرافرازی ایرانیان گردند و انشاء الله تمام این سخنرانیها و خطابه‌ها در مجموعهٔ چاپ و برای استفاده عموم منتشر خواهد شد.

طبق نظر انجمن این جشن در تهران و همدان برپای خواهد گردید باین معنی که در حضور عموم مدعوین مراسم رسمی افتتاح آرامگاه و پرده برداری از مجسمه شیخ در همدان بعمل خواهد آمد و کنگره هزاره در تهران منعقد میگردد.

و برای شناسائی شهر همدان هم اکنون با در نظر گرفتن منویات انجمن دایره جغرافیائی ستادارتش مشغول تالیف رساله است بنام راهنمای شهر همدان که از اوضاع طبیعی و اقتصادی و تاریخ این قدیمترین شهر ایران و بزرگان و علمائی که از آنجا برخاسته اند و یا در آنجا مدفونند و آثار تاریخی آن باندازه کافی شرح خواهد شد این رساله بدو زبان فارسی و انگلیسی خواهد بود.

همچنین مشغول تهیه نقشه برجسته از شهر همدان و حوالی آن میباشد که بسیار ظریف و زیبا و در عین حال دقیق خواهد بود و در پلاکهای مخصوصی جای داده خواهد شد که بعنوان یاد بود بشرکت کنندگان اهداء گردد.

انجمن آثار ملی که در ساختمان آرامگاه بو علی سینا قسمتی را بنام کتابخانه در نظر گرفته از هم اکنون مشغول جمع آوری کتب برای این کتابخانه میباشد و دانشگاه تهران و وزارت فرهنگ مقداری از انتشارات مربوط به خود و علاقه‌مندان دیگر نیز از تالیفات خویش را بآن جا هدیه نموده اند و بوسیله

تهیه مجسمه — انجمن آثار ملی پس از بر رسی‌های زیاد در کتب و نوشتجاتی که درباره ابن سینا تالیف شده بود و در آنها تا اندازه از وضع ظاهر و جسمانی این دانشمند اشاراتی رفته بود ضمن تشکیل جلساتی از دانشمندان با مشورت اهل فن تصویری از ابو علی سینا تهیه نمود و از روی آن مدل درصدد بر آمد که دو مجسمه از شیخ تهیه کند که یکی در همدان و دیگری در تهران در یکی از خیابانهائیکه بنام شیخ نامگذاری خواهد شد نصب گردد انجام این امر از طرف انجمن به آقای ابو الحسن صدیقی استاد هنرمند معروف و مجسمه ساز شهیر وا گذار گردید و ایشان انجام آنرا تقبل فرموده اند که تا قبل از انعقاد جشن حاضر و برای نصب مهیا نمایند دیگر از کارهائیکه انجمن بافتخار هزارمین سال نموده و یا در صدد انجام آنست یکی تهیه مد الهای یادگاری ابن سینا است که بافتخار این جشن در پاریس تهیه شده و صورت چهره شیخ و همچنین دور نمای آرامگاه آن دانشمند را در دو طرف به بهترین سبک صنعتی حکاکی و قالب ریزی نموده اند دیگر تالیف و تهیه نمایشنامه‌ها است بوسیله هنرمندان و انجمن آثار ملی از آقایان مطیع الدوله حجازی و علی جلالی و ذبیح بهروز و سایر هنرمندان فن تآتر درخواست نموده است که نمایشنامه هائی از زندگانی شیخ الرئیس با توجه و تطابق بموازین علمی و تاریخی تهیه نمایند تا در موقع تشکیل کنگره درمقابل مدعوین و بعداً برای عموم بمعرض نمایش گذاشته شود و از این راد نیز به بهتر شناساندن این دانشمند کمکی شده باشد .

از همه مهمتر بر گزاری جشن هزاره و تشکیل کنگره بو علی خواهد بود - این کنگره با شرکت بزرگترین دانشمندان و پزشکان و رجال علم و ادب جهان که شناسائی کاملی باحوال و آثار شیخ دارند و در این قسمت دارای تتبع و نظریاتی میباشند و شرکت دانشمندان و پزشکان عالیقدر ایرانی تشکیل خواهد شد و سعی بلیغ بعمل خواهد آمد که کشورهای مختلف بنحوی مناسب در این امر بس مهم شرکت نمایند و از هم اکنون بوسیله نمایندگان دولت شاهنشاهی در خارجه مشغول تهیه اسامی دانشمندان و فضلا میباشد که در

ابن سینا را منتشر سازد تا در این موقع تقریباً با همکاری کمیسیون فرهنگی جامعه عرب کلیه آثار شیخ از عربی و فارسی طبع انتقادی صحیح حاصل نموده و در دسترس ارباب دانش و علم قرار گیرد. بر روی این اصل کمیسیونی بنام کمیسیون تالیفات شیخ تشکیل و پس از امعان نظر و دقت‌های لازم تدوین و مقابله و تصحیح و تالیف رسالات فارسی ابن سینا به آقایان اساتید محترم بشرح زیر وا گذار گردید:

۱ — آقای سید محمد مشکوة استاد دانشگاه ۱ — رساله نبض (رگ شناسی) ۲ — رساله منطق دانشنامه علائی ۳ — رساله طبیعیات دانشنامه علائی ٤ — رساله ریاضیات دانشنامه علائی ٥ — رساله الهیّات دانشنامه علائی.

۲ — آقای جلال الدین همائی استاد دانشگاه ۱ — کنوز المعزمین ۲ — رساله جر ثقیل.

۳ — آقای دکتر غلامحسین صدیقی استاد دانشگاه ۱ — علم پیشین و برین ۲ — مفاتیح الخزاین ۳ — قراضه طبیعیات ٤ — ظفر نامه.

٤ — آقای دکتر موسی عمید استاد دانشگاه ۱ — معرفة النّفس ۲ — علل تسلل موجودات.

٥ — آقای دکتر محمود نجم‌آبادی ۱ — رساله جودیه.

و علاوه بر اینها رسالهٔ را هم با تصحیح و مراقبت آقای پرفسور هانری کربن فرانسوی طبع نمود و آن ترجمه فارسی رساله حیّ بن یقظان است که این ترجمه ظاهراً در زمان حیات شیخ انجام شده است.

نطق آقای پرفسور گابریلی ایتالیائی که در کنفرانس عمومی یونسکو منعقد در فلورانس درباره ابن سینا ایراد کرده اند نیز جزو این سلسله انتشارات بطبع خواهد رسید.

سری ٤ ــ منتخب از آثار عهد مغول و تیموری : ۱ ــ محراب مسجد جامع رضائیه ۲ ــ تُنگ کاشی طلائی مکشوفه در گرگان ۳ ــ برج معروف به کاشانه که مقبره غازان خان است در بسطام ٤ ــ مقبره بابا افضل در مرق نزدیک نیا سر در کاشان ٥ ــ مسجد گوهر شاد خاتون زوجه شاهرخ بن تیمور در مشهد مقدس رضوی .

سری ٥ ــ ۱ ــ عکس آرامگاه قدیم ابن سینا ۲ ــ گنبد قابوس ۳ ــ آرامگاه جدید ابن سینا ٤ ــ منظره شهر همدان ٥ ــ تصویر شیخ الرئیس .

بدیهی است هر قدر زمان بگذرد بیشتر قدر این خدمت انجمن بر مردم صاحب نظر معلوم خواهد شد چه انتشار تمبر از آثار تاریخی و یادگاری تمدنهای ادوار باستانی بمناسبت جشن هزاره یکی از اجلّه مفاخر ایران برای تجلیل مقام شامخ بو علی و در عین حال متوجّه ساختن دوستان تاریخ و فرهنگ کشور کهن سال ایران و همچنین باقی گذاردن خاطره بر گزاری این مراسم در ذهن دانشمندان و اهل فضل و علم دارای تاثیرات نیکوئی خواهد بود که بروزگاران جاوید و برقرار خواهد بود .

ج ــ تصحیح و تالیف و انتشار رسالات فارسی شیخ . انجمن آثار ملی بیاد بود جشن هزارمین سال تولد ابن سینا موقع را مغتنم شمرد و در صدد بر آمد که کتب و رسائل فارسی شیخ را با نظر اساتید فن تصحیح و تالیف نماید تا بتواند از این راه کمک موثر و مهمی به شناساندن مقام علمی شیخ و عقاید و افکار حکیم و تاثیر فلسفه و منطق او در سایر دانشمندان که بعد از ابو علی سینا از خوان دانش او کسب فیض نموده اند بنماید و همچنین خدمتی بفرهنگ و ادبیات زبان فارسی انجام شده باشد و چون باندازه کافی رسالات و کتب عربی شیخ تصحیح و تالیف و ترجمه شده و از طرفی ملل عرب هم یقینا در موقع برپا داشتن مراسم یاد بود بو علی بار دیگر دست به چاپ و انتشار رسالات عربی او خواهند زد لهذا انجمن آثار ملی مناسب دید رسالات فارسی

تا کنون چهار سری از این تمبرها که به سفارش انجمن در چاپخانه معروف کمپانی برادبوری ویلکنسن در لندن که چاپ کننده اسکناسهای بانک ملی ایران میباشد و در تهیه اوراق بها دار معروفیت جهانی دارد بچاپ رسیده و منتشر شده و سری ۵ آن که مقارن برگزاری جشن انتشار خواهد یافت بایران واصل گردیده است.

شرح ۵ سری تمبر مزبور بدینقرار است.

سری اول منتخب از آثار دوره هخامنشی: ۱ — آرامگاه کوروش کبیر در مشهد مرغاب (پاسارگاد) ۲ — نقش داریوش اول بر اورنگ شاهی و خشایارشا و یکی از شخصیت‌های مهم که بحال احترام ایستاده است ۳ — نقش سرباز جاویدان هخامنشی در تخت جمشید ۴ — تالار آئینه (تچر) تخت جمشید ۵ — نقش حمله شیر به گاو که در قسمتهای مختلف تخت جمشید نموده شده است.

سری دوم منتخب از آثار دوره ساسانیان: ۱ — نقش اردشیر دوم در طاق بستان (کرمانشاهان) ۲ — کاخ خسرو انوشیروان (ایوان مدائن) در تیسفون نزدیک بغداد امروزی ۳ — نقش اردشیر اول که حلقه شهریاری را از اهورامزدا میگیرد در نقش رستم ۴ — نقش نرسی شاهنشاه ساسانی در نقش رستم ۵ — زیباترین و معظم‌ترین نقشی که برای نمودن پیروزی شاپور اول بر والرین امپراتور معروف روم حجاری شده است در نقش رستم.

سری سوم از آثار منتخب عهد سلجوقی: ۱ — گنبد علی در ابرقو ۲ — نقش قدیمترین سکه دارای شیر و خورشید که بنام یکی از پادشاهان سلجوقی میباشد ۳ — نمای ایوان مسجد جامع اردستان که از ابنیه سلجوقی است ۴ — درون گنبد خواجه نظام الملک وزیر معروف سلجوقیان در مسجد مشهور جمعه اصفهان ۵ — گنبد علویان در همدان.

قریب به ۱۰ متر ساخته شده است) با ابنیه تابعه آن شامل کتابخانه و اطاق پذیرائی و سایر ابنیه فرعی دیگر که علاوه بر اصول فنی معماری جدید و احتیاجات آرامگاه اختلاف بارز و جالب توجهی که با گنبد قابوس دارد اینست که فاصله ترکهای ۱۲ گانه آرامگاه بو علی سینا خالی و باز است در صورتیکه دیوار گنبد قابوس اعم از ترک و فاصله بین ترکها پر و مسدود بوده طبعا درون آن تاریک و فاقد نور میباشد لیکن در آرامگاه بو علی گنبد مخروطی بر فراز دوازده پایه بلند استوار است و درون آرامگاه گشاده و روشن میباشد از لحاظ کمی وسعت محوطه آرامگاه سکوئی بارتفاع ۵ متر در زیر سراسر آرامگاه احداث شده و بدینطریق رو یهمرفته ارتفاع آرامگاه جمعا نسبت به کف زمین بالغ بر ۲۸ متر میگردد .

برج و پایه‌های بنا تماما از بتون مسلح ساخته شده که نمای کلی آرامگاه از صخره صما (سنگ گرانی) میباشد .

امر ساختمان آرامگاه بشرکت ساختمانهای کشوری وا گذار گردید و از چهارم اردیبهشت ۱۳۲۷ که قرار دادهای لازم منعقد شد شرکت بمقدمات کار پرداخت و عملیات ساختمانی آرامگاه طی مراسم رسمی شروع شد و طبق بر آوردی که بعمل آمده است تقریبا در حدود ۱۶ ملیون ریال خرج اینکار خواهد بود و از قراریکه متخصصین فنی میگویند کمتر بنائی باین عظمت و سبک معماری در ایران ساخته شده و در نوع خود بی‌نظیر است .

(ب) — دیگر از کارهائیکه انجمن بیادبود هزارمین سال تولد ابن سینا در نظر گرفت انتشار تمبرهای یادگاری مخصوص بود که با موافقت دولت مقرر گردید پنج سری که هر سری آن شامل ۵ قطعه تمبر میباشد منتشر نماید .

قیمت معمولی تمبرهای جاری با اضافه نمودن صدی پنجاه به بهای اصلی به منفعت آرامگاه بر روی تمبر قید گردیده است .

گزارش مختصری راجع بآرامگاه ابن سینا

بقلم آقای محمد تقی مصطفوی - تهران

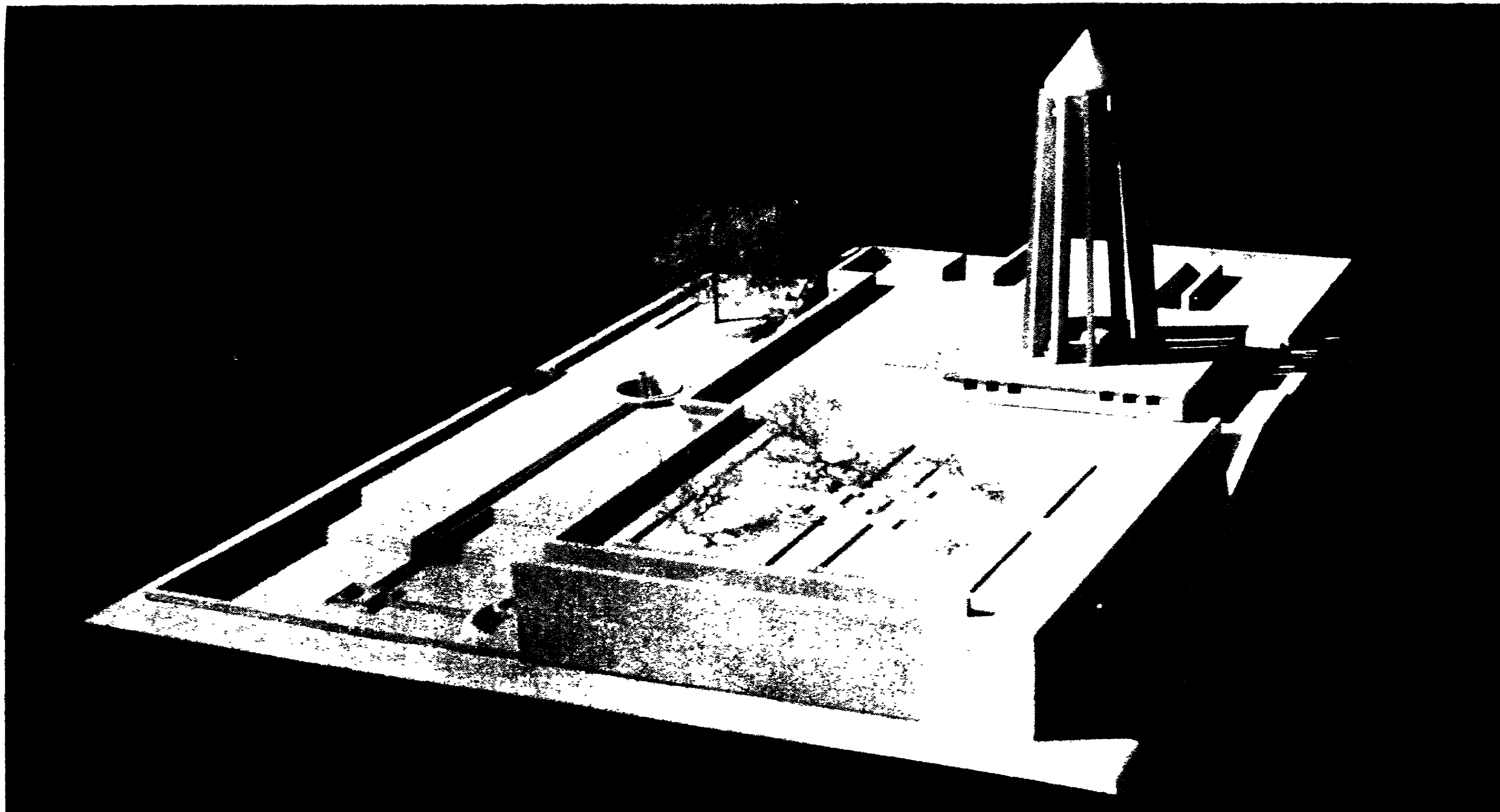
انجمن آثار ملّی که از سال ۱۳۲۳ مجدداً شروع بکار نمود همّت خود را در این دوره فعلا بیشتر بدو امر مهم مقصور نموده است.

۱ — بنای جدید آرامگاه سعدی به جای آرامگاه قدیم که نظر علاقه‌مندان را تأمین نمیکرد و موجب ملال خاطر دوستداران سعدی بود بر اثر توجّه و اقدام انجمن عجالتاً بکلی امر ساختمان خاتمه پذیرفته و در نظر است در اوایل سال جدید افتتاح شود.

۲ — بنای جدید آرامگاه ابو علی سینا - به تصادف با هزارمین سال تولد ابن سینا فیلسوف و طبیب عالیقدر ایرانی انجمن آثار ملی در صدد بنای با عظمتی برای آرامگاه او در همدان و اقدامات دیگری بر آمد بشرح زیر:

(الف) — نقشه آرامگاه بوعلی با توجه بسبک معماری قرن معاصر حکیم از روی یکی از قدیمترین بنای تاریخ صنایع اسلامی ایران یعنی گنبد قابوس که از شاهکارهای معماری بشمار میرود اقتباس گردیده است (گنبد قابوس طبق کتیبه موجود در روی بنا بسال ۳۷۵ شمسی برابر ۳۹۷ قمری بنا شده است) نقشه مزبور در سال ۱۳۲۳ بین مهندسین جوان و فارغ التحصیلان و دانشجویان رشته معماری دانشکده هنرهای زیبا به مسابقه گذارده شد و طرح پیشنهادی آقای مهندس هوشنگ صیحون که با جلب نظر و موافقت و مشورت آقای اندره گدار مدیر کل فنی موزه باستان شناسی و آقای مهندس محسن فروغی تهیه شده بود مورد پسند واقع گردید.

این نقشه بطور اجمال عبارتست از برج دوازده ترکی بارتفاع ۲۱ متر شبیه به گنبد قابوس (بنای گنبد قابوس بارتفاع ۵۲ متر در بالای تپه‌ای به بلندی



The aerial view of the newly-constructed mausoleum of Avicenna at Hamadān.

در حوادث سال ۴۲۸ مینویسد : ''وفات ابو بکر بن منجویه اصفهانی محدث نیشابور و ... الشیخ الرئیس ابو علی حسین بن عبد الله بن سینا و ابن باکویه شیرازی و مهیار (در اصل میار) دیلمی از شعرا و غلاء مفرط در جمله بلاد و استیلاء طغرل بر نیشابور ...،، و سپس همان قطعه معروف ''حجة الحق ابو علی سینا،، را ضبط کرده است ـ مشرب‌زاده دامادی سید محمد شمعی در ''اتمام التواریخ علاوه لی،، (ص ۴۶ از چاپ استانبول ۱۲۹۵) در وقایع سال ۴۲۸ ''وفات حسین ابی علی سینا،، را ضبط کرده است.

در ۳۷۰ بجهان آمده باشد دوازده سال داشته باشد و معقول نیست که کودک دوازده ساله یا چهارده ساله و یا هفده ساله پادشاه زمان خود را درمان کند و برای او کتاب بنویسد ناچار ۳٦۳ یا ۳۷۰ را ترجیح میدهند و ۳۷۰ را از همه معتبرتر میدانند درباره تاریخ ولادت و مرگ و تحصیلات ابن سینا این قطعه بسیار معروف است :

حجة الحق ابو علی سینا - در شجع آمد از عدم بوجود - در شصا کرد کسب کل علوم - در تکز گفت این جهان بد رود ''شجع،، بحساب جمل ۳۷۳ و ''شصا،، ۳۹۱ و تکز ۴۲۷ است - البته پیداست که این قطعه را در همان زمان ابن سینا نگفته اند زیرا که دران زمان هنوز معمول نبوده است که تاریخ را بحساب جمل بیاورند بهمین جهت این قطعه با همه شهرتی که دارد قطعی نیست و برخی کلمه ''شجع،، را در مصرع دوم ''شجس،، خوانده اند و گفته اند که در اصل چنین بوده و در اینصورت ۳٦۳ میشود - اما چون ابو عبید گوزگانی سن ویرا صریحاً ۵۳ سال نوشته اگر در ۴۲۷ در گذشته باشد در ۳۷۴ ولادت یافته است و اگر در ۴۲۸ ناچار می‌بایست در ۳۷۵ بجهان آمده باشد و این همان تاریخی است که ابو عبید میدهد و درآن اشکالی هست که پیش از این آوردم .

درباره مرگ او چنانکه گذشت برخی در ۴۲۷ و برخی دیگر در ۴۲۸ ضبط کرده اند - ابو عبید که همیشه با وی بوده در ۴۲۸ ضبط کرده - ابن الاثیر مورخ معروف در حوادث سال ۴۲۸ می‌نویسد : ''در شعبان ابو علی ابن سینا حکیم فیلسوف نامی صاحب تصنیفهای سایره بر مذاهب فلاسفه در گذشت و مرگ او در اصفهان بود،، - با آنکه ذکر محل مرگش در اصفهان بدلایلی که گذشت قطعی نیست گویا تاریخ مرگ او را که در شعبان ۴۲۸ ضبط کرده است درستتر باشد - صادق اصفهانی نیز در کتاب شاهد صادق رحلت او را بسال ۴۲۸ آورده و حاج خلیفه در تقویم التواریخ

پیش از آنکه این محل را برای ساختن بنای رفیعی که اینک در دست ساختمانست بکاوند در این محل دو قبر در جوار یکدیگر بوده است که یکی را از ابن سینا و دیگری را از ابو سعید یا ابو سعد دخدوک میدانستند - در این محل دو سنگ بیک اندازه بوده است که بر یکی ازانها پس از آیاتی چند و آن قطعه معروف ''حجة الحق ابو علی سینا،، کنده بودند: ''شیخ ابو علی بن سینا نور الله مرقده - عمل کربلائی عبد الخالق،، و بر دیگری که آنرا از ابو سعد یا ابو سعید دخدوک میدانستند تاریخ ۱۲۹۴ را کنده بودند - ابن ابو سعید یا ابو سعد را تنها ابو عبید گوزگانی در رساله خود نام برده و تصریح میکند که ابن سینا در سفر اول همدان چهل روز در خانه ''ابی سعد بن دخدوک،، مانده است و در برخی از نسخها بجای ابو سعد ابو سعید نوشته اند و مردم همدان هم قبر دیگر را از ابو سعید یا بوسعید میدانستند - بهمین جهت حدس میزنند که این بو سعید یا ابو سعید همان ابو سعید بن دخدوک باشد که یا پیش از ابن سینا در گذشته و ابن سینا را در کنار او بخاک سپرده اند یا برعکس.

در هر صورت نکته‌ای که ابن ابی اصیبعه دربارهٔ نقل پیکر او باصفهان آورده چندان متقن نیست زیرا که این مطلب را با قید گویند و ''قیل،، میآورد و همین خود مشکوک بودن آنرا میرساند.

اما گفته های ابو عبید را هم در این رساله نمیتوان قطعاً مسلم دانست و در پاره‌ای از اقوال او اختلاف است چنانکه وی ولادت ابن سینا را در ۳۷۵ آورده است و در مآخذ مختلف در ۳۶۳ و ۳۷۰ و ۳۷۳ ضبط کرده اند - چون ابن سینا چنانکه گذشت دو رساله بنام نوح بن منصور سامانی نوشته که در ۳۸۷ در گذشته و نیز حکایتی از معالجه وی از این پادشاه بسیار معروف است اگر تنها در سال آخر زندگی این پادشاه با او رابطه بهم‌زده باشد و اگر در ۳۶۳ بجهان آمده باشد لازم میآید درانموقع بیست و چهار سال و اگر در ۳۷۰ بجهان آمده باشد هفده سال و اگر در ۳۷۳ بجهان آمده باشد چهارده سال و اگر

و شیخ با او رفت و این بیماری در راه دوباره سرزد تا اینکه بهمدان رسید و دانست که نیروی او بپایان رسیده و نمیتواند با بیماری ستیزه کند و در درمان کوتاهی کرد و میگفت مدبّری که تدبیر تن مرا میکرد از تدبیر درمانده است و اینک دیگر درمان سودی نکند و چند روز بدینگونه ماند و سپس بنزد پروردگارش رفت و زندگی وی پنجاه و سه سال بود و مرگش در ۴۲۸ و ولادتش در ۳۷۰ بود،، .

ابن ابی اصیبعه پس از نقل عین شرح حالیکه ابو عبید گوزگانی نوشته میگوید : ''اینست پایان انچه ابو عبید در احوال شیخ الرئیس آورده است و گور وی در پای دیوار شهر از سوی قبله در همدان است و گویند او را باصفهان برده اند و در جائی بر دروازه کونکنبد بخاک سپردند،، - پیداست که کلمهٔ کونکنبد باید محرف ''کوی گنبد،، نام محله‌ای یا جائی در اصفهان بوده باشد که از قدیم در همان محله در دشت اصفهان معروف است از این قرار در زمان ابن ابی اصیبعه متوفی در ۶۶۸ این روایت که باز مانده جسد ابن سینا را پس ازآنکه در همدان بخاک سپردند باصفهان برده اند رایج بوده است و ممکنست این کار را پس از زمان ابو عبید گوزگانی کرده باشند و او از این واقعه خبر نشده باشد در هر صورت از زمانهای بسیار قدیم برخی از مؤلفان قبر ابن سینا را در همدان نشان داده اند از آنجمله زکریا بن محمد بن محمود قزوینی متوفی در ۶۸۲ در کتاب آثار البلاد که روایت اول آنرا در ۶۶۱ و روایت دوم را در ۶۷۴ تمام کرده است در کلمه افشنه (چاپ گوتینگن ۱۸۴۸ ص ۲۰۰) بدین نکته اشاره کرده است و پس از او بسیاری از مؤلفان و مسافران این نکته را مکرر کرده اند وآنگهی از زمان قدیم در همین محلی که اینک قبر او را در همدان نشان میدهند و قطعاً قبرستان بسیار کهنه‌ایست مردم آن شهر قبر ابن سینا را میشناخته اند و پیداست که این سنت از زمان قدیم درمیان مردم رواج داشته و ناچار اصلی داشته است که مردم همدان همه دران متفق بوده اند .

بود و شک نیست که ابو جعفر عقیدهٔ تباه داشت و بهمین جهت ابن سینا در تصانیف خود در الحاد و رد بر شرایع در شهر خود مقدم بوده است ـ این گفتهٔ ابن الاثیر را قاضی نورالله شوشتری در مجالس المومنین و بجزوی چند تن دیگرهم تکرار کرده اند اما گفته معتبرتر همان آدینهٔ اول رمضان ۴۲۷ است چنانکه این قطعه را هم در تاریخ ولادت و کسب دانش و در گذشت او در زمانهای قدیم سروده و ولادت او را در ''شجع،، که بحساب جمل ۳۷۳ و دانش آموزی او را در ''شصا،، یعنی در ۳۹۱ و مرگش را در ''تکز،، یعنی در ۴۲۷ دانسته و گفته اند :

حجة الحق ابو علی سینا ـ در شجع آمد از عدم بوجود ـ در شصا کرد کسب کل علوم ـ در تکز گفت این جهان بدرود ـ درباره مدفن او هم بجز ابن الاثیر دیگران همه تصریح کرده اند که در همدان بوده است و دران شهر همیشه معروف بوده و بقعه‌ای بر سر خاکش ساخته بودند که اخیرا برای ساختمان بنای مجللی برداشته اند .

آقای محمد صدر هاشمی در سالنامهٔ کشور ایران سال ششم ۱۳۳۰ خورشیدی صفحه ۱۶۸ ـ ۱۷۳ مقالتی بعنوان ''قبر ابو علی سینا حکیم و فیلسوف مشهور،، نوشته است که مطلب بسیار تازه‌ای دران هست و آن اینست که در محله در دشت اصفهان هنوز ساختمانی هست کهن که مردم محلی آنرا گنبد و قبر ''علی سینای حکیم،، و بیشتر مدرس وی مینامند و این دلیل است که وی را در اصفهان بخاک سپرده اند چنانکه ابن الاثیر هم گفته که در اصفهان در گذشته است .

ابو عبید گوزگانی شاگرد معروف ابن سینا که قسمتی از شرح حال وی را از زبان او نقل کرده و بقیه را که خود شاهد بوده نوشته است در نسخه‌ایکه در کتاب عیون الانباء فی طبقات الاطباء ج ۲ ص ۹ آمده است صریحاً دربارهٔ پایان زندگی ابن سینا مینویسد ''... سپس علاء الدوله آهنگ همدان کرد

مؤلف مفید العلوم سینا را نام قریه‌ای از بخارا دانسته است گویا درست نباشد و اینکه این کلمه را ضیاء ترجمه کرده اینهم درست نیست و کلمه تازی که ضیاء معنی میدهد ''سنا،، هست و نه سینا .

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نکتهٔ دیگریکه دربارهٔ ابن سینا هست اینست که صدر الدین ابو الحسن علی بن ابی الفوارس ناصر بن علی حسینی در کتاب ''اخبار الدولة السلجلوقیه،، چاپ لاهور ۱۹۳۳ (ص ٦) در حوادث سال ۴۲۷ همان سالی که ابن سینا در گذشته است مینویسد عمید ابو سهل حمدوی با تاش فراش باصفهان رفت و لشکریانی با ایشان بودند که زمین را پر کرده و طول و عرض آنرا گرفته بودند و ملک علاء الدوله ابو جعفر از ایشان شکست خورد و خزاین و خانه وی را غارت کردند و شیخ حکیم ابو علی بن سینا رحمه الله وزیر ملک علاء الدوله بود و لشکر تاش فراش کتابخانهٔ ابو علی را غارت کرد و بیشتر تصانیف و کتابهای او را بکتابخانهٔ غزنه بردند و درمیان آنها مجموعه‌ای بود که خشم ملک الجبال حسین بن حسین آنرا سوزانید - بدینگونه نسخه‌های اصلی آثار ابن سینا را که خود در اصفهان گذاشته بود در ۴۲۷ یعنی همان سالی که وی در گذشته است بغارت بغزنین برده اند و آنجا بوده است تا اینکه در سال ۵۴۵ یعنی ۱۱۸ سال پس از آن واقعه که علاء الدین حسین غوری ملقب بجهان سوز پادشاه معروف سلسله غوری یا شنسبانی شهر غزنین را گرفته و آنجا را آتش‌زده این نسخه‌ها در آتش سوزی از میان رفته است .

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درباره تاریخ رحلت و مدفن ابن سینا نیز اختلاف است . در همه مراجع معتبر رحلت وی را در روز آدینه اول رمضان ۴۲۷ ضبط کرده اند - ابن الاثیر در تاریخ الکامل در حوادث سال ۴۲۸ مینویسد در شعبان ابو علی بن سینا حکیم فیلسوف مشهور صاحب تصانیف سایره بر مذهب فلاسفه در گذشت و مرگ او در اصفهان روی داد و درخدمت علاء الدوله ابو جعفر بن کاکویه

و قطعاً از او نیست زیرا که درجاهای مختلف این کتاب مطالب تاریخی فراوان هست که پس از زمان ابو بکر خوارزمی روی داده است و قطعاً این کتاب از جمال الدین بن علی قزوینی از دانشمندان قرن هفتم ایران است - در چاپ اول این کتاب در صحیفه ۴۲ و در چاپ سوم و چهارم در صحیفه ۵۵ که ردی بر ملاحده نوشته است ذکری از حسن صباح پیشوای معروف اسماعیلیان ایران دارد و این خود دلیل است که کتاب از ابو بکر خوارزمی متوفی در ۳۸۲ نیست در اینمورد میگوید : "... و داعیتهم فی العراق الحسن بن احمد الصباح الرازی الزندیق کان ساعیاً کاتباً بالری و یعلم النجوم و الفلسفة بمصر و سمی نفسه صباحا یعنی انه صبح طلع بین الدعاة کما ان ابا علی ابن الحسن کان من قریة بخاری یقال لها سینا فسمی نفسه ابن سینا و هو الضیاء" ... "در چاپ اول جملهٔ آخر "بن سینا و هو الضیاء" و در چاپ سوم ابن سینان و هو الضیاء" و در چاپ چهارم بن سینان و هو الضیاء" چاپ شده است و پیداست باید "ابن سینا و هو الضیاء" باشد - مؤلف شذرات الذهب در ج ٦ ص ۲۲۸ نام کسی را برده که فخر الدین عثمان بن محمد بن ابی بکر بن حسن حرانی دمشقی متولد در ۶۹۸ و متوفی در ۷۷۳ باشد و بابن المغربل معروف بوده و گوید در قدیم بابن سینا معروف بوده است .

از قریه‌ای بنام سینا در بخارا در هیچ کتابی اثری نیست و سینا تنها نام ناحیهٔ معروف شامست که کوه آن بطور سینا معروف است و سینان نیز چنانکه یاقوت در معجم البلدان ضبط کرده قریه‌ای در مرو بوده است . از کلمهٔ سنوی هم که نسبت بسینا باشد در هیچ جا ذکری نیست از طرف دیگر چون ابو الریحان بیرونی معاصر با ابن سینا بوده و در ٤٤٠ یعنی سیزده سال پس از ابن سینا در گذشته محال است درباره نسب وی اشتباه کرده باشد و ابن سینا را در همان زمانها که میزیسته است بمناسبت نام جدش که سینا بوده است "سنوی" میگفته اند و سنوی نسبت بسینا ست - اما اینکه

چند نکته تازه درباره ابن سینا

بقلم آقای سعید نفیسی ـ استاد دانشگاه طهران و عضو پیوستهٔ فرهنگستان ایران

درباره کلمه سینا که نام جد سوم این دانشمند است اختلاف است ـ ابو الریحان بیرونی دانشمند معروف معاصر وی در کتاب ''تحدید نهایات الاماکن لتصحیح مسافات المساکن،، که قسمتی از آن در مجموعه‌ای بعنوان ـ ''صفة المعمورة علی البیرونی،، Biruni's Picture of the World شماره ٥٣ ''تذاکیر دیوان الآثار القدیمه بالهند Archaeological Survey of India, No. 53 بوسیله ١ ـ زکی ولیدی توغان در کلکته چاپ شده در ص ٦٥ آن مجموعه میگوید : ''و قد رایت لابی علی الحسین بن عبد الله بن سینا رسالة الی زرین کیس بنت شمس المعالی فی تصحیح طول جرجان،، از این قرار ابن سینا رساله‌ای در تصحیح طول شهر گرگان داشته که برای زرین کیس دختر شمس المعالی قابوس بن وشمگیر نوشته است ـ اندکی بعد در ص ٦٧ آن مجموعه چنین آمده است : ''... و هو قریب مما ذکر ابو علی السنوی فی رسالته الی زرین کیس بنت شمس المعالی ...،، در این مورد نسبت ابن سینا را ''سنوی،، مینویسد .

در کتاب ''مفید العلوم و مبید الهموم،، نیز مطلب تازه‌ای دربارهٔ ابن سینا هست ـ این کتاب تا کنون چهار بار چاپ شده است : نخست در مطبعة العلمیه با ''المختار من نوادر الاخبار،، تالیف مقری انباری در مصر در ١٣١٠ بار دیگر در دمشق در ١٣٢٢ بار دیگر در مطبعة حسین افندی شرف در ١٣٣١ - ١٩١٣ در مصر و یکبار بالتزام سعید علی الخصوصی صاحب المطبعه و المتکتبة السعیدیه در مصر بی تاریخ ـ در هر چهار چاپ این کتاب را بجمال الدین ابو بکر محمد بن عباس خوارزمی شاعر معروف و صاحب رسایل مشهور که در ٣١٦ ولادت یافته و در ٣٨٣ در گذشته است نسبت داده اند

چنانکه تاریخ نویسان نوشته اند ابن سینا سه بار همه دارائی خود را بمستمندان بخشیده و چیزی برای او بجای نماند. سومین بار بخشش دارائی خود پیش از مرگ او در همدان پس از انجام غسل و توبه بوده است.

ایکاش بدانمی که من کیستمی سر گشته بعالم از پی چیستمی
گر مقبلم آسوده و خوش زیستمی ورنه بهزار دیده بگریستمی

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از قعر گل سیاه تا اوج زحل کردم همه مشکلات گیتی را حل
بیرون جستم ز قید هر مکر و حیل هر بند گشاده شد مگر بند اجل

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دل گرچه در این بادیه بسیار شتافت یکموی ندانست ولی موی شکافت
اندر دل من هزار خورشید بتافت آخر بکمال ذرهٔ راه نیافت

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کفر چو منی گزاف و آسان نبود محکمتر از ایمان من ایمان نبود
در دهر چو من یکی و آنهم کافر پس در همه دهر یک مسلمان نبود

گستاخی آنروز است. پس پوزش خواست و شیخ کتاب (لسان العرب) را در لغت تألیف کرد که تا کنون نظیر ندارد ولی تا درگذشت شیخ پاکنویس نشد و کسی به ترتیب آن راه نیافت. خلاصه آنکه تألیفات ابن سینا بر رویهم از یکصد جلد بیش نیست. رساله‌های بسیاری نیز دارد که افزوده بر آن است. برای اختصار از ذکر آنها در این مقاله خودداری گردید ولی شمه‌ای از فضائل نفسانی و مکارم اخلاق او با چند پاره از ابیات فارسی شیخ برای مزید اطلاع خوانندگان و جهة تیمن و حسن ختام مقاله ذکر میشود:

از آنچه درباره شیخ نوشته شده یکی اقاریر خود شیخ بر ابو عبید است که گوید در زمان تحصیل هر گاه مسئله بر من مشکل میشد بمسجد میرفتم و نماز میگزاردم و از خدای متعال با خضوع و ابتهال حل مشکل را درخواست میکردم و بسا میشد که مجهول در خواب بر من معلوم میشد و دیگری ارتباط او با شیخ ابو سعید ابو الخیر است و مکاتبه و ملاقات آنها باهم.

در تاریخ گزیده حمد الله مستوفی آمده. گویند: شیخ الرئیس باوجود آنکه استاد علماء جهان بود کناسی او را در سخن ملزم گردانید و چنان بود که کناس در حال نقل متاع خود میگفت.

گرامیداشتم ای نفس از آنت — که بر دل بگذرد آسان جهانت

شیخ الرئیس با کوکبه وزارت درگذر بود بشنید و بر سبیل استهزاء گفت: کجا گرامیش داشتی که بمذلت کناسی گرفتارش کردی؟ ''گفت از اینکه بنزد همت مردمی نان از کناسی خوردن بهتر که از در چون توئی جستن دیگر آنکه بوقت رحیل کناس را از عقب کناسی مردن نیک آسان بود. اما دنیاداران را از محبت خود شناس و کوکبه و طنطنه سپاهی مردن سخت دشوار باشد. شیخ الرئیس جواب راست و حق یافت و ساکت شد،،.

شیخ بمن وا گذاشت و خود بقسمتهای نظری آن پرداخت. شیخ برای رصد افزار تازه‌ای ساخت و رساله ویژه‌ای در آن باره نگاشت ولی بواسطه پیش آمدها و سفرهای پی در پی این کار انجام نگرفت. شیخ کتاب (انصاف) را تصنیف کرد ولی در زمان تاخت و تاز لشکر مسعود غزنوی باصفهان رحل شیخ را بتاراج بردند و این کتاب هم از میان رفت. کتاب (دانشنامه علائی) را در اصفهان نوشت و همچنین تمام دوره کتاب (الشفا) جز کتاب الحیوان و النبات را در اصفهان بپایان رسانید.

روزی شیخ در منزل امیر بود ابو منصور حیاتی از ائمه لغت نیز حاضر بود. یکی از مسائل علم لغت بمیان آمد شیخ نیز اظهار عقیده کرد. ابو منصور بشیخ گفت: تو فیلسوف و حکیمی در علم لغت دستی نداری و سخنت پسندیده نیست. ابن سینا از این سخن بهم برآمد و روی بدرس کتب لغت آورد سه سال در آن رنج برد و کتاب (تهذیب اللغه) تصنیف ابی منصور ازهری را از خراسان خواست و چنان در فن لغت زبردست شد که برای کس آن مایه و پایه دست نداده بود. سه چکامه با ترکیب الفاظ غریب بسرود و سه کتاب نوشت یکی باسلوب ابن العمید و یکی بروش ابو اسحق الحرانی و دیگری بسبک صاحب ابن عباد و فرمود تا آنها را به جلدهای ممکنه قدیمی نما جلد نمایند. آنگاه با امیر تبانی کرد. امیر آن مجلدات را بر ابو منصور نشان داد و گفت هنگام شکار این کتاب را در بیابان یافتم. وارسی کن و بگو این کتاب چیست و از کیست؟ ابو منصور در آنها نگریست و در فهم بسیاری از مطالب آن کتابها فروماند. در این میان بر حسب مواضعه قبلی شیخ وارد شد موافق معمول در گفتگو شرکت نمود. آنچه ابی منصور نمیدانست شیخ با ذکر مراجع و مدارک از کتب لغت توضیح داد. پس ابو منصور که در لغت گزافه گو دور از ثقة بود شرمنده شد و دریافت که این رساله‌ها ساخته و پرداخته خود شیخ است و این تلافی

حقنه میکرد. روزی فرمود دو دانگ تخم کرفس برای رفع باد در داروی احتقان بیامیزند. یکی از پزشکان که نزد شیخ آمد و شد داشت و بدرمانش پرداخت پنج درهم بذر کرفس در داروی حقنه ریخت. چون من با او نبودم نفهمیدم این کار از روی عمد بود یا خطا. تندی بذر کرفس بأسهال افزود. بدتر آنکه شیخ چون برای سر درد معجون (مترودیتوس) میخورد یکی از غلامان که در دارائی شیخ خیانت کرده بود از بیم باز خواست او مقدار زیادی افیون در آن معجون ریخت و بخوردش داد. ابن سینا را با چنین حالی بأصفهان بردند. او باز بتداوی پرداخت و آنچنان بی‌بنیه و ناتوان شده بود که توانائی نشست و برخاست نداشت.

همچنان خود را مداوا میکرد تا اندکی بهبود یافت و بخدمت علاء الدوله رسید. با اینهمه شیخ از آمیزش با زنان دست بر نمیداشت و کجدار و مریز گاه خوش و گاهی ناخوش میزیست تا در موکب علاء الدوله بهمدان رفت. باز در راه بیمار شد و رنجور بود تا بهمدان رسیدند. شیخ دریافت که نیروی بدنی دیگر وافی بدفع بیماری نیست. از اینرو از علاج نومید شد و مرض را بخود وا گذاشت و میگفت ''مدبّری که تدبیر بدن با اوست از کار فرومانده دیگر معالجه سودمند نیست،، چند روزی همچنان بود تا بسال ۴۲۸ هجری قمری بجوار پروردگار پیوست و در سوی جنوبی شهر همدان یا کنار خیابان شاهپور امروز کالبد خالی او بخاک رفت.

ابن سینا را آثار بسیاری است. برخی مانند قانون و شفا و اشارات و نجات و دانشنامه علائی که از زمان خود شیخ معروف و متداول بوده و در مدارس تدریس میشده. بعضی دیگر کمتر شهرت یافته یا نامی از آنها بما رسیده است. چنانکه ابو عبید نوشته گوید: در سفری که علاء الدوله بهمدان میرفت و شیخ با او بود شبی سخن از نواقص تقویمها و اختلاف ارصاد میرفت. ابن سینا بر عهده گرفت که کواکب را رصد کند و تدارک مقدمات آنرا

علاء الدوله اشارت کرد و خواجه قبول کرد. پس گفت آن جوان را بشارت دهید که قصاب همی‌آید تا ترا بکشد و بآنجوان گفتند. او شادی همی کرد. پس خواجه بر نشست و با تنی دو در رفت و کاردی بدست گرفته گفت: این گاو کجاست تا او را بکشم آن جوان همچو گاو بانگی کرد. یعنی اینجا است. خواجه گفت بمیان سرای آریدش دست و پای او ببندند. بیمار چون آن شنید بدوید و بمیان سرای آمد پای او سخت ببستند. پس خواجه ابو علی بیامد و کارد بر کارد مالید و فرو نشست و دست پهلوی او نهاد چنانکه عادت قصابان بود. پس گفت وه این چه گاو لاغری است این را نشاید کشتن علف دهیدش تا فربه شود. مردم را گفت: دست و پای او را بکشایند و خوردنی آنچه فرمایم پیش او برید و او را گوئید بخور تا زود فربه شوی چنان کردند که خواجه گفت و بعد از آن هرچه اشربه و ادویه خواجه فرمودی بدو دادندی. او بشنودی و بخوردی بر آن امید که فربه شود تا او را بکشند. پس اطباء دست بمعالجت او بر کشادند و صحت یافت.

ابن سینا کماکان با علاء الدوله بود تا سالیکه قاش از سوی امیر مسعود غزنوی سپه سالار عراق شد و با لشکر بزرگی سوی اصفهان تاخت. ابن سینا که مردی تندرست و بسیار نیرومند بود در اثر آمیزش بسیار خود با زنان و برخوردار شدن از ایشان تندرستی و نیرومندی خود را از دست داده ناتوان شده بود تا در جنگی که میان لشکریان قاش و سپاهیان علاء الدوله بر در کرخ در گرفت بقولنج گرفتار گشت و از ترس آنکه مبادا جنگ بهزیمت پایان یابد و نتواند با حال بیماری فرار کند خود را در یکروز هشت بار حقنه کرد.

از اینرو در امعاء او قرحه‌ای پیدا شده با خراش امعا دچار اسهال گردید. با اینحال از روی ناچاری در موکب علاء الدوله بسوی ایزه (مالمیر) شتافتند. در آنجا سر درد نیز بر بیماری قولنج و بیرون روی او افزوده گشت. با اینهمه ابن سینا از تداوی خود فرو گذاری نداشت و خود را برای رفع اسهال و قولنج

و با برادر خود محمود و شاگردش ابو عبید و دو غلام بصورت ناشناس با جامه درویش از همدان فرار کرده و با تحمل رنج فراوانی خود را باصفهان رسانید .

علاء الدوله کاکویه با خوشی و مهربانی از شیخ بزرگوار پذیرائی کرده ویرا درسفر و حضر با خود داشت و ابن سینا تا پایان زندگانی نزد او و بکارهای علمی مشغول بود و کتابهای بسیاری در آنزمان بنام او نوشت یا کتابهای ناتمام خود را تکمیل کرد . شیخ در اصفهان نیز از تعرض بر کنار نماند چنانکه وقتی علاء الدوله بر او خشم گرفت و آن دانشمند بزرگ از ترس بسوی ری گریخت و چون بار دیگر از نواخت فرمانفرمای اصفهان برخوردار گردید باصفهان فرا خوانده شد . همچنین وقتی لشکر مسعود غزنوی باصفهان تاختند[۳] و پسر کاکو یه فرار را برقرار برتری داد دارائی شیخ بیغما رفت و گویند بعضی کتابهایش نیز ناپدید گشت .

باز یکی از حکایتهای منسوب به ابن سینا که عروضی سمرقندی در چهار مقاله خود ذکر مینماید داستان معالجه مالیخولیاست که در دستگاه پادشاهی فخر الدوله درباره یکی از بزرگان آل بویه بکار برده و چگونگی آن بطور مختصر بدین قرار است :

یکی از آل بویه مالیخولیا پدید آمد و او را در این علت چنان صورت بست که او گاوی شده است همه روز بانگ همیکرد و این و آن را همیگفت که مرا بکشید . کار بدرجه‌ای کشید که هیچ نخورد و روزها برآمد و ناهار نکرد . در اینحال خواجه ابو علی وزیر بود پس چون اطباء از معالجت آن جوان عاجز ماندند پیش شاهنشاه ملک معظم علاء الدوله آنحال بگفتند که خواجه را بگوید تا آن جوان را علاج کند .

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(۳) بسال ۱۴۲۰ هجری قمری .

کرد شیخ در خانه یکی از دوستانش چهل روزی پنهان بود چندی نیز در زندان شمس الدوله بسر برد تا آنکه ویرا بخشید و آزاد ساخت. ابن سینا دوباره بکارهای علمی خود پرداخت. دیری نپائید که دوباره شمس الدوله به بیماری قولنج گرفتار شد. شیخ الرئیس دوباره او را شفا بخشید و امیر از گذشته پوزش خواست باز ویرا بمقام وزارت رسانید[۱] و در لشکرکشی که بطارم میکرد دستورش را در همدان گذاشت و خود با لشکر برفت. در راه قولنج بازگشت و چون بیم مرگش میرفت او را با تخت روان به همدانش باز گردانیدند ولی در عرض راه زندگانی را بدرود گفت. شیخ دیگر وزیری سماء الدوله را نپذیرفت و تاج الملک وزارت او را پیدا کرد.

شیخ الرئیس ابو علی سینا باردیگر گوشه گیری اختیار نموده بخانه ابو طالب عطار رفت و نهانی با علاء الدوله ابو جعفر ابن کاکویه فرمانفرمای اصفهان بمکاتبه پرداخته و از این راه با او ارتباط یافت تا موجبات پیوستن خود را با آن شهریار فراهم سازد. سماء الدوله امیر همدان از چگونگی راز وی آگاه شده خشمگین گردید. بفرمان او شیخ را که در نهان میزیست از خانه ابو طالب عطار بیرون آورده در دژ فردیجان در بند نمود. ابن سینا چهار ماهی زندانی بود و در همان حبس است که چکامه معروف خود را ساخت و یکی از ابیات آن اینست:

دخولی بالیقین کما تراه و کل الشك فی امر الخروج

در همین اوقات علاء الدوله بهمدان لشکر کشید و سماء الدوله شکست خورده بهمان دژ گریخت[۲] پس از بر گشتن علاء الدوله بأصفهان سماء الدوله ابن سینا را با خود بهمدان آورد شیخ منزوی شده وقت خود را به تصنیف و افاضه میگذرانید تا آنکه از ماندن در همدان دلسرد گشته فرصتی بدست اورد

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(۱) دو بار وزارت بو علی سینا در همدان میار سالهای ۴۰۵ و ۴۱۲ هجری قمری بوده است.
(۲) بسال ۱۳۱۴ هجری قمری.

ابو علی گفت این جوان در فلان محلت و در فلان کوی و در فلان سرای بر دختری فلان و فلان نام عاشق است و داروی او وصال آن دختر است و همچنان بود که خواجه ابو علی گفته بود پس این حال را پیش قابوس رفع کردند قابوس را عظیم عجب آمد.،،

در گرگان ابو محمد شیرازی دوستدار فلسفه حضور شیخ را دریافت و بخدمت او همت گماشت خانه‌ای برای شیخ خرید و ابن سینا در آنجا بتدریس مجسطی پرداخت. کتاب (المختصر الاوسط) درمنطق را بر ابو عبید املاء کرد و کتاب (العبد و المعاد) و کتاب (الارصاد الکلیه) برای ابو محمد تصنیف کرد.

همچنین کتابهای دیگری مانند قانون را آغاز نمود. چون آوازه شهرت و دانش و حسن طبابت و حذاقت او در پزشگی در عراق پیچید و زبانزد عام و خاص گردید. سیده همسر فخر الدوله دیلمی و مادر مجد الدوله از او خواهش کرد که به ری رود. شیخ الرئیس درخواست سیده را پذیرفته از گرگان روانه ری شد. در آنجا مجد الدوله را که بیماری مالیخولیا داشت درمان کرد و چندی در ری با احترام تمام بزیسته کتاب (معاد) را برای او نوشت. آنگاه رو بقزوین گذاشت و چندی در آنشهر بماند تا آنکه شمس الدوله فرزند دیگر فخر الدوله که در همدان امارت داشت به قولنج سختی گرفتار گشت و شیخ را بهمدان خواست. ابن سینا بهمدان رفت و آن شهریار را با ماندن شبها بر بالینش بهبود بخشید و در نزد او پایگاهی بلند یافت. در سفر و حضر با او بود و عاقبت شیخ را رتبه عالی وزارت داد. چندی نگذشت که به نیرنگ درباریان که ابن سینا محسود آنان واقع شده بود و بر شیخ رشک میبردند لشکریان کرد و ترک شمس الدوله شورش نموده بخانه آن وزیر دانشمند ریخته هرچه داشت به یغما بردند و دست‌آویز آنها این بود که شهریه و جیره آنها دیر شده است. دشمنان شیخ او را مسئول دانسته و شمس الدوله برای خوابانیدن شورش او را از مقام وزارت بر کنار و خانه‌نشین

ویرا بیابند و دستگیر نمایند از اینرو شیخ الرئیس با آگاهی از این شایعات روی بگرگان نهاد و در آنجا برای ارتزاق و گذران خود بأمر طبابت اشتغال یافت.

در گرگان خواهر زادهٔ قابوس و شمگیر گرفتار مالیخولیا بوده که همه اطبا از درمانش فرو ماندند چون شیخ الرئیس را برای معالجه او خواستند وی با دریافتن عوارض نفسانی بچگونگی کسالت او پی برده و چنان تشخیص داد که آن جوان دچار مالیخولیای عشق است با پرسشهائی چند از بیمار و مطالعات و معایناتی که بسیار مشابه روش تحلیل نفس است بر این راز آگاهی یافت و گفت این پسر در فلان کوی و فلان خانه دلباخته‌ای دارد و درمان او وصال آنست.

عروضی سمرقندی در چهار مقاله خود راجع باین داستان معروف که از جمله معالجات غریبه ابن سینا است شرحی نوشته که خلاصه‌اش اینست: ''ابو علی روی بگرگان نهاد و قابوس پادشاه گرگان بود مردی بزرگ و فاضل دوست و حکیم طبع بود. ابو علی بکاروانسرائی فرود آمد مگر در همسایگی او یکی بیمار شد معالجت کرد به شد. روزگاری چنین میگذشت مگر یکی از اقربای قابوس و شمگیر را عارضه‌ای پدید آمد اطبا به معالجت او برخاستند و جهد کردند وجدی تمام نمودند علت بشفا نپیوست. یکی از خدم قابوس را گفت یتیم جوانی آمده است عظیم طبیب و مبارک دست پس ابو علی را طلب کردند و بسر بیمار بردند. جوانی دید بغایت خوبروی بنشست و نبض او بگرفت و پس گفت مرا مردی باید که غرفات و محلات گرگان را همه شناسد بیاورند. ابو علی دست بر نبض بیمار نهاد و محلت‌های گرگان نام برد تا رسید بمحلتی که نبض بیمار در آن حالت حرکتی عجیب کرد پس ابو علی گفت کس میباید که در این کوی همه سرایها را بداند بیاوردند و سرایها را بر دادن گرفت تا رسید بدان سرائی که این حرکت باز آمد ابو علی گفت اکنون کس میباید که نامهای اهل سرای بتمام داند و بر دهد بیاوردند بر دادن گرفت تا آمد بنامی که همان حرکت حادث شد.

خوارزمشاه که پیش از رسیدن نمایندهٔ محمود از مضمون نامه او آگاهی داشت ابو علی سینا و ابو ریحان بیرونی و ابو سهل مسیحی و ابو خیر خمار و ابو نصر عراقی و سایرین را بخواست و آنها را از ماجرا بیاگاهانید و در ضمن گفت هر کدام از شما نخواهید بغزنین بروید بهتر آنست که پیش از آمدن رسول خوارزم را بجای گذارید که ما را عذری درمیان باشد. بو علی و بو سهل که بی‌میل بودند با راهنمائی بلد از راه بیابان بسوی نسا رفتند در روز چهارم بادی سخت برخاست و هوا تیره گشت راه را گم کردند و آب نیافتند. در این گیرودار بو سهل مسیحی هلاک شد و بو علی و راهنمایش که چند بار از خطر جسته و جان بدر برده بودند آن بیابان ترسناک را پشت سر گذاشته به (باورد) آمدند.

خود شیخ از این مقوله چیزی نگفته همینقدر برای ابو عبید نقل کرده است که: ''در بحکم ضرورت به نسا و باورد رفتم از آنجا به جاجرم افتادم و از آنجا نیز بقصد ملاقات شمس المعالی امیر قابوس و شمگیر از دیالمه آل زیار بجانب گرگان رفتم و در همان اوقات لشکریان او را در قلعه نشاندند در همانجا هم درگذشت. ناچار از اقامت گرگان گذشتم و حرکت کردم و لیکن در دهستان ناخوش گشتم و ناگزیر بگرگان بر گشتم. در آنجا فقیه ابو عبید عبد الواحد جوزجانی بمن پیوست[۱].''

آنچنانکه برخی نوشته اند شیخ از اینرو بدربار محمود غزنوی نرفته که شیعه بوده و او از برخورد با یک مرد سنی متعصب عنودی مانند محمود غزنوی بیم داشته است قدر مسلم آنست که شیخ الرئیس از نسا که یکی از شهرهای ترکستان بوده به (ابیورد) و از آنجا بطوس و سمنگان و جاجرم رفته سپس رهسپار گرگان شده است. گویند ابن سینا از طوس به نیشابور رفت و چندی در نیشابور بماند. چون محمود غزنوی در جستجوی او بود بهمه جا سفارش نمود که

(۱) ورود شیخ بگرگان در سال ۴۰۳ هجری قمری که سال بازداشت شمس المعالی یا احتمالا یکسال پیش از آن بوده است.

شیخ گوید : ''همسایه‌ای داشتم از اهل خوارزم که ابو بکر برقی نام داشت مردی فقیه و پارسا و بعلوم عقلی بسیار شیفته بود از من بخواست که مسائل فلسفی را برایش شرح دهم و منهم کتاب (الحاصل و المحصول) را در بیست جلد برای او تصنیف کردم و نیز کتاب (البرّ و الاثم) در اخلاق برای او نوشتم و نسخه آن دو کتاب جز نزد او یافت نمیشود زیرا بهیچ کس عاریت نداد تا از آن نسخه برداشته شود .

در این روزها عبد الله سینا پدر شیخ درگذشت و ابن سینا ناگزیر پیشه دیوانی پدر پیش گرفت . چون روزگار پادشاهی سامانیان رو بزوال میرفت و آشفتگی در دستگاه خراسان و ماوراء النهر پدید آمده بود و چنانکه در پیش گذشت گرگانج پایتخت فرمانفرمایان خوارزم (مامونیان) جایگاه دانشمندان بزرگ و علم و هنر شده بود و از هر سو خداوندان دانش و هنر بآنجا روی آور میشدند ابن سینا هم از پیشه دیوانی دست کشیده و او نیز بخوارزم رهسپار گشت در گرگانج به ابو الحسن سهیلی وزیر علی ابن مأمون خوارزمشاه پیوست . چون این دستور دانا مردی دانشور و دانش گستر بود از اینرو چون زرگری که زر شناس باشد شیخ را با آغوش باز پذیرفته مقدمش را گرامی داشته حقوق ماهانه‌ای برای معاش ابن سینا مقرر داشته و شیخ توسط او نزد علی ابن مأمون خوارزمشاه بار یافت ولی چیزی نگذشت که به (نسا) و (باورد) رفت و از آنجا بگرگان شتافت . عروضی سمرقندی در (چهار مقاله) آورده که محمود غزنوی رسولی[۱] بخوارزم فرستاد و به خوارزمشاه پیام داد چون شنیده‌ام چند کس از دانشمندان در مجلس امیرند که مانند آنان کمتر یافت میشود باید آنان را بحضرت غزنین فرستاد تا شرف مجلس ما در یابند و باندازه ما به پایه خود نواخت حاصل کنند .

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(۱) نام رسول محمود غزنوی ابو الفضل حسن ابن میکال بود .

ابن سینا با حصول چنین اجازت بکتابخانه معتبر آن شاه فرهنگ دوست دست یافت و بیشتر اوقات خود را بمطالعه و استفاضه از کتابها مصروف داشت چنانکه خود او گوید: ''سرائی دیدم دارای حجره‌های بسیار و در هر اطاق صندوقهای پر از کتاب چیده شده بود که بیک رشته از علوم اختصاص داشت. بعضی بأدبیات برخی بفقه و پارهٔ به پزشگی و همچنین دانشهای دیگر چه متداول و چه غیر متداول.'' باز گوید: ''فهرست کتابهای پیشینیان را بر رسی نمیکردم و هر کدام را میخواستم از کتابدار میگرفتم کتابهائی در آنجا دیدم و خواندم که پیش از آن ندیده بودم من آن کتابها را خواندم و فرا گرفتم چون بسن هجده سالگی رسیدم از همه این دانشها بی‌نیاز و چنانکه باید برخوردار شده بودم از آن پس دیگر چیزی بر من گشوده نشد منتهی آنروزها محفوظاتم بیشتر و حاضر الذهن آماده‌تر بودم ولی امروز اندیشه‌ام روشن‌تر و دانستنیهایم پخته‌تر گردیده و بهر گونه چیزی بر آن افزوده نشده است.''

از سوء اتفاق پس از چندی آن کتابها بسوخت و بدگویان شیخ بزرگوار را که بیگناه بوده متهم ساخته گفتند ابو علی با استفاده کاملی که از کتابها کرده برای آنکه دیگران را محروم کند و خود را مرد مبتکری بشناساند کتابخانه را طعمه آتش ساخته تا آن آثار علمی از میان برود.

ابن سینا از سن بیست و یک سالگی دست بنگارش کتاب و تألیفات خود زده بیشتر کتابهایش را برای دیگران یا بخواهش این و آن تحریر کرده است یا سؤالات و مسائل را پاسخ مینوشته و چون نسخه‌ای از تألیفات و تحریرات خود را نزد خود نگاه نمیداشته از اینرو بعضی از آنها ناپدید شده است.

چنانکه ابو عبید در دیباچه هندسه و دانشنامه علائی نوشته گوید: در آنگاه که من بخدمت خواجه رئیس بودم بر گرد کردن تصانیف او و بدست آوردن آنها توجه داشتم زیرا خواجه رئیس را عادت چنان بود که آنچه تصنیف کردی به آنکس دادی که از او خواسته بودی و از بهر خویش نسخه نگرفتی ... .''

بو علی در این زمان شهرت بسیاری پیدا کرده بود چنانکه خود او گوید در اینموقع شانزده ساله بوده و از این پس به بر رسی کتابهای ما بعد الطبیعه علم الهی یا فلسفه شوق و ذوق یافته ولی از خواندن کتاب ارسطو چیزی دستگیرش نمیشد و دشواریهای این دانش برای او ناگشوده و پیچیده مانده بود. بگفته خود او چهل بار کتاب ما بعد الطبیعه ارسطو را خوانده بود بقسمیکه عبارات آن را در حفظ داشت ولی بدرستی معانی آنرا نمیدانست چیزی نمانده بود که نومید شده از آن دست بکشد و چنان پنداشت که راهی برای فهم و درک کتاب پیش گفته نیست. بر حسب اتفاق و تصادف کتابی از معلم ثانی ابو نصر فارابی بدستش افتاد با مراجعه و مرور آن درهای آن علم بر رویش گشوده شد و بکمک این کتاب بدریافت حکمت اعلی توانا گردید. شادیها کرد و برای سپاسگزاری از این پیروزی و توفیق بزرگ که بعالیترین مدارج علم و والاترین معارج معرفت رسیده است مستمندان را مال بخشید و دست نوازش بر سر آنها کشید. بدین ترتیب از آن پس با استعانت رساله‌های فارابی معانی و مطالب کتابهای ارسطو را دریافت و بمشرب فلسفی آن آشنا گشت و روش خاص در فلسفه برای خود اختیار کرد که عبارت از فلسفه مشائی حکمت ارسطو با شرقی و دینی باشد.

بخت ابن سینا یاری کرد و پیش آمد خوب و مساعدی مایه ترقی مراتب علمی بو علی گردید و آن واقعه بیماری نوح ابن منصور سامانی فرمانفرمای خراسان بود که طبابت پزشکان نامدار بی‌اثر مانده و با آنکه به همه وسایل برای استعلاج وی توسل جسته بودند بهبودی نمییافت و در معالجه او فرو ماندند ابن سینا در آنزمان بفزونی مطالعات و حسن معالجات مشهور شده بود از او ذکر خیری نزد شاه شده و نوح شیخ را بر خود فرا خواند تا بلکه او وی را شفا بخشد. این کار انجام گرفت و چون شاه بهبود یافت ابن سینا در دربار آنشهریار بپایگاهی بلند رسید و از نوح خواست که بکتابخانه شاهی راه یابد و خزینه گرانبهای علمی او را بر رسی نماید.

عربی اکتفا نکرده در راه فرا گرفتن علوم ریاضی و طبیعی هر جا نشان میگرفت پی آن میرفت و بهمین مناسبت حساب را از آن بقّال و ریاضی را از محمود مسّاح بیاموخته .

در آن اوقات ابو عبد الله ناتلی[۱] که در فن ایساغوجی (منطق فریورنوس سوری) احاطه داشته به بخارا میآید زیرا در آنزمان مرسوم چنین بوده که دانشمندان بهر سو سفر میکردند در هر جا چندی مانده بآموزش دیگران و تشکیل جلسه درس میپرداختند . ابو عبد الله هم که یکی از آن دانشمندان زمان خود بوده چون به بخارا رفته و بدانستن علوم اوائل معرفی شده بود پدر شیخ او را بخانه خود آورده تا دانش خود را به پسرش بیاموزد . بو علی نزد او بخشی از منطق و چند شکل از هندسه اقلیدس و نیز بخشی از کتاب مجسطی بخواند و بقیه را خود بمطالعه حل میکرد و برای استادش نقل و تقریر مینمود چه بدقائق فن چنانکه باید احاطه کامل نداشته و او از نیرومندی حافظه و بسیاری هوش و قوه استنباط و سرعت انتقال بو علی در شگفت میماند و چه بسیار مطالبی که او از استادان فن نشنیده و خود او نیز نیاموخته بود از شاگرد جوان خود فرا میگرفت و درکار او خیره میشد و حیرت داشت .

شیخ چندی بهمین منوال بدون آنکه از علوم دینی مانند فقه و حدیث دست بکشد بعلوم عقلی میپرداخت تا در خلال این احوال آوازه دانش گستری و هنر پروری فرمانفرمایان خوارزم به گرگانج که از شهرهای خوارزم بود کشید و بو علی بدون استاد ماند چه استادش بدانسوی رفت . ابن سینا چندی بدون معلم در تحصیل و تکمیل خویش کوشید تا آنکه بعلم پزشگی رغبت یافت و نزد ابو منصور حسن ابن نوح القمری بآموختن طب و بر رسی کتابهای پزشگی پرداخت . چیزی نگذشت که در این فن آگاهی بسزا یافت و بسیاری از پزشگان نزد او بفرا گرفتن طب روی آوردند و بیمارانی از طبابت حاذقانه‌اش درمان یافتند و آنها را شفا بخشود .

( ) ناتله قریه‌ایست از توابع بجور مازندران که حالا به (نیتل) نامبردار است .

بقسمیکه ابو عبید نوشته است پدر شیخ، عبد الله سینا نام داشته، خراسانی و در بلخ ساکن بوده در روزگاریکه نوح ابن منصور سامانی[۱] فرمانفرمائی خراسان را داشته و بخارا پایتخت سامانیان باوج عظمت خود رسیده پایگاه دانش و ادب و جایگاه کسب و صنعت شده بود رهسپار بخارا گشته پیشهٔ دیوانی در آنجا اختیار کرده و پس از چندی با دختری بنام ستاره که از مردم (افشنه) بوده زناشوئی نموده دارای دو فرزند شد که بو علی نخستین فرزند وی و در (خرمیثن) حدود مجاور بخارا مقر حکمرانی پدرش بدنیا آمد. تا سن پنجسالگی در آنقریه نشو و نما یافته آنگاه پدرش با زن و دو فرزند خود بو علی و محمود به بخارا باز گشته و بو علی نزد آموزگارانیکه پدرش برگزیده بود خواندن و نوشتن را فرا گرفته از همان اوان کودکی و صباوت آثار زیرکی و هوش فوق العاده و قدرت حافظه در او آشکار بوده است.

ابن سینا پس از آموختن خواندن و نوشتن بفرا گرفتن مقدمات عربی و دانشهای دینی پرداخته و در ده سالگی قرآن و اصول دین و مبادی علم و ادب را که صرف و نحو و معانی و بیان است میدانست زیرا علومیکه آن زمان در آموزشگاههای ایران و ماوراء النهر بویژه بخارا شیوع داشته عبارت از همان مقدمات عربی و علوم دینی بوده است.

از این پس یک سبزی فروش و یا بقّال بخارائی باو علم حساب را آموخته و نزد محمود مسّاح فنون ریاضی را فرا گرفته و علم فقه را از اسماعیل زاهد یاد گرفته است. پدرش عبد الله و برادرش محمود از طایفه اسماعیلیه بوده و پیروی پدرش از فرقه اسماعیلیه و آمد و شد متعلقان اسماعیلی در خانهٔ پدر و ارتباط خانوادهاش گرچه مسبب گرویدن شیخ از آن کیش و آئین نشد ولی بی‌تاثیر نبوده چه همین امر او را از حدود تقلیدات زمان خود بیرون کشیده افق فکری ویرا روشن و وسیعتر نمود. از اینرو شیخ بمعلومات دینی و مقدمات

(۱) امیر رضی الدین ابو القاسم نوح بن منصور در ماه شوال ۳۶۵ هجری قمری بامارت نشسته و در ماه رجب ۳۸۷ دیده از جهان فروبسته

در زمان ابن سینا چون زبان علمی تمدن اسلامی و بعبارت دیگر رسمی و رایجتر آنروز زبان تازی بوده و در کیش اسلام ملیت و قومیت چندان اهمیت و اعتباری نداشته و مسلمانان همه باهم برابر و برادر بوده اند از اینرو شیخ بزرگوار ابو علی سینا و همچنین دشمن معاصر او ابو ریحان بیرونی بیشتر اوقات خود را هر دو بورزیدن این زبان و نوشتن آثار خود بزبان تازی مصروف داشته و در عین حال هم بسیاری از شاهکارهای خود را بزبان فارسی نوشته است .

ابن سینا که در اروپا بنام آویسنا (Avicenna) شناخته شده در سال ۳۷۰ هجری قمری که مصادف با سال ۹۸۰ میلادی بوده پای بجهان هستی گذارده و بخش بیشتری از زندگانی خود را در شهرهای گرگان و ری و همدان و اصفهان گذرانیده و در همه جا از نوازش و ستایش فرمانفرمایان و بزرگان زمان خود برخوردار شده و در پایان زندگانی نیز پیشه وزارت داشته و در گذشت او در سال ۴۲۸ هجری (۱۳۰۷ میلادی) پس از ۵۸ سال زندگانی در شهر همدان (اکباتان) روی داده ملت ایران و جهان اسلام آرامگاه بلند پایه ویرا همواره گرامی داشته و احترام گذاشته است .

در داستان نامه‌ها، تذکره‌ها، تراجم رجال و مجلات اعم از فارسی و تازی و اروپائی از ابن سینا شرح حال مفصّل یا مختصری نوشته شده ولی از همه بهتر شرح حال معتبری است که شاگرد و مصاحب او ابو عبید عبد الواحد بن محمد الفقیه جوزجانی نوشته زیرا اینمرد در ۲۵ سال پایان زندگانی استادش همیشه با او بوده و نخستین بخش سرگذشت زندگانی ابن سینا را تا روزیکه در گرگان بخدمت شیخ بزرگوار رسیده باملاء خود ابو علی سینا مرقوم داشته و بقیه را نیز خود او که گرد آورنده تألیفات استادش میباشد از زمان اقامت شیخ در گرگان تا زمان در گذشت او یادداشت کرده است .

از اینکه ملت ایران در ادای این احترامات و تجلیلات پیشقدم شده است برای آنست که این متفکر ارجمند و طبیب بزرگ بیش از همه بأیران و ایرانی بستگی دارد زیرا که ابو علی سینا بدون تردید در یکقسمت از خاک ایران که پایتخت سومین سلسله بزرگ ایرانی پس از اسلام و مرکز طلوع و تجلی با شکوه شعر و ادبیات فارسی است از پدر و مادر ایرانی بوجود آمده و در سراسر زندگانی خود در ایران و آنهم در دستگاه فرمانفرمایان و شهریاران و بزرگان ایرانی میزیسته و کتابها و رساله‌های خود را نیز برای ایشان یا دانشمندان دیگر ایرانی نوشته و سالها در ری و همدان و اصفهان نزد دو خاندان از اصیل‌ترین دودمانهای ایرانی یعنی دیالمه و کاکویه و دیلمیان آل زیار وزارت میکرده و سرانجام نیز در ایران مرده و در همانجا هم بخاک رفته است.

شرف الملک شیخ الرئیس ابو علی سینا از معلومات سرشار و افکار گهربار خود شاهکارهای گرانبهای علمی و فلسفی و پزشگی و ادبی جاویدان و درخشانی در زبانهای فارسی و تازی بیادگار گذاشته و نام وی در شمار این رشد یکمرد بزرگ دیگر اسلام آمده و نفوذی نیز با مکتب فلسفی و طب خود در فرهنگ و تمدن اروپا داشته است.

شیخ الرئیس ابو علی سینا که به رئیس الاطبا و شرف الملک و حجة الحق ملقب است در قرون وسطی همان مقام را دارد که ارسطو و بقراط در قرون قدیمه و در ایران همان پایه را دارا است که جالینوس در یونان دارد. این شهریار پزشگان و پادشاه کشور دانش که مدت شش قرن یعنی از قرن یازدهم میلادی تا قرن هفدهم در سراسر جهان تمدن از خاور و باختر کتاب قانون او نه تنها وسیله آموختن و فرا گرفتن طب بوده بلکه تاسده هفدهم در دانشگاههای لوون و مادرید مانند متن اساسی طب آموخته میشد و او را استاد مطلق این فن شریف بشمار میآوردند.

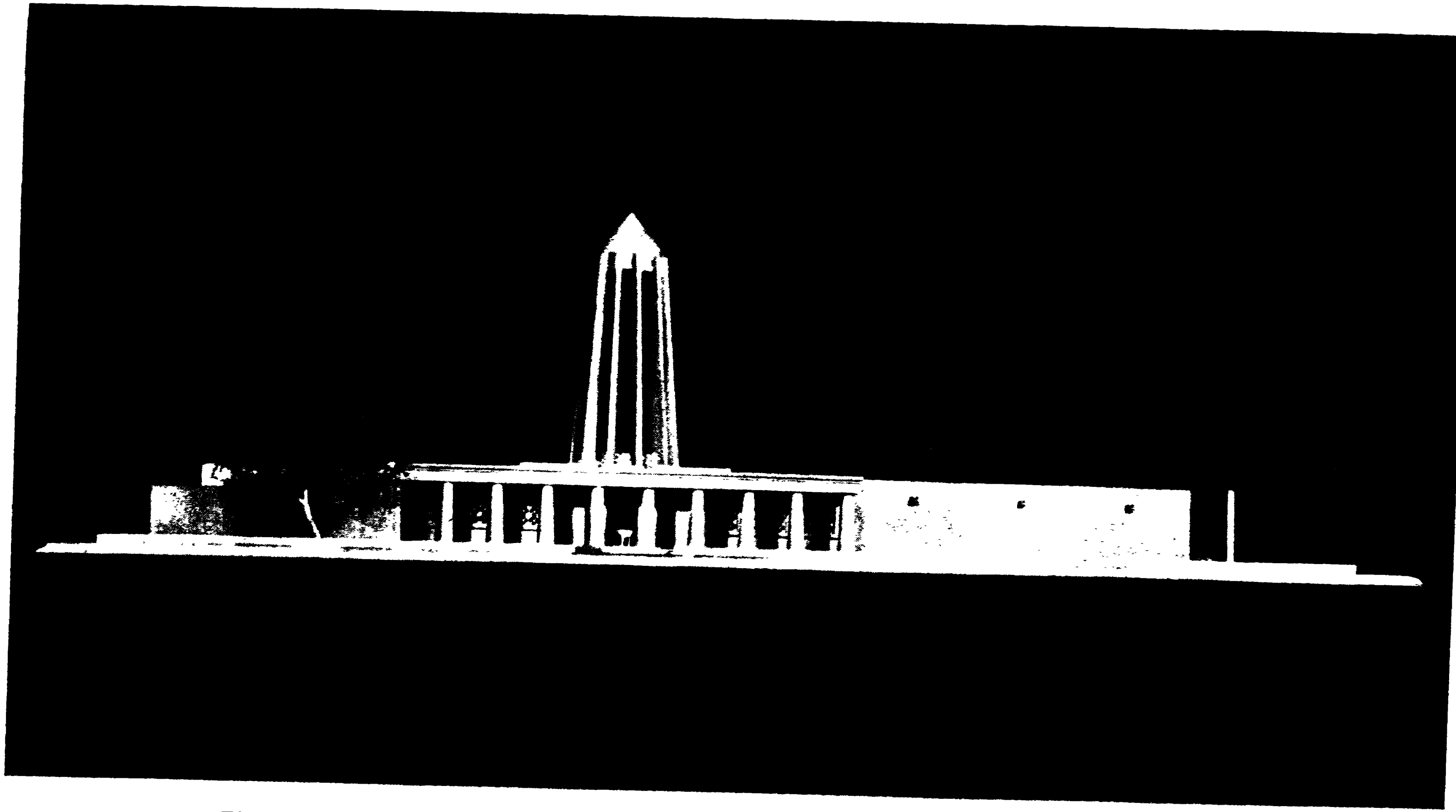
سرگذشت شیخ الرئیس ابو علی سینا

نگارش آقای علی اکبر سلیمی دبیر انجمن ادبی فرهنگستان ایران و مدیر مجله یونسکو

مردم گیتی بزودی شاهد بزرگترین جشن با شکوهی خواهند بود که برای تجلیل مقام رفیع مشهورترین مرد بزرگ ایرانی که از جمله مفاخر جهان اسلام و اجله نوابغ علمی دنیا و خدمات برجسته او در بسط فلسفه و طب مورد اتفاق همگی است برپا خواهد شد. (کلیه ابن سینا)

ابن مراسم یاد بود و تشریفات با فر و شکوه برای جشن هزارمین سال میلاد مسعود شیخ الرئیس ابو علی سینا است که احتمالاً در مهر ماه ۱۳۳۱ خورشیدی مطابق اکتبر ۱۹۵۲ میلادی در آرامگاه نو بنیاد او در شهر همدان بر مزار سابقش بنا گردیده و یک ساختمان عالی بیمانندی در نوع خود میباشد که از سبک گنبد قابوس و شمگیر در گرگان تقلید شده است بر گزار خواهد شد.

بسیاری مردم دانشمند از بزرگترین مردان فرهنگ و دانش جهان که بعظمت مقام این نابغه بزرگوار پی برده اند از هرگوشهٔ گیتی در این شهر گرد آمده با همکاری و حضور آنها مراسم مجلل جشن هزاره ابن سینا آن حکیم بزرگ و متفکر عالی مقام و طبیب ارجمند ایرانی از طرف ملت ایران باتفاق همه ملتهای دیگر بویژه ملل اسلامی که وارث افکاروی میباشند در چنان روزیکه گفته شد بعمل خواهد آمد و این تجلیل و شادمانی البته از آن لحاظ است که علم وطن معین و مخصوص ندارد و دانشمندان بزرگ که زندگانی پر ارج خود را به بسط و توسعه دامنه معلومات برای کلیه افراد بشر صرف کرده و نظری جز رفع مجهولات و دفع اضطرابات و بدبختی از یکایک آدمیان با دیده یکسان نداشته اند از آن همگانند و همه افراد از هر قوم و ملّت حق دارند که بوجود ایشان ببالند و افتخار کنند زیرا بیک سلسله از موجودات متعلقند و از میان آنان چنین گوهرهای تابناک و وجودهای سودمند و مؤثری بیرون میآیند.



The front view of the newly-constructed mausoleum of Avicenna at Hamadān.

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The Iranian Press Delegation in Calcutta

MAIN CURRENTS OF PRE-ISLAMIC IRANIAN THOUGHT

By

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D.

THE Iranian race has been marked throughout its long history by a certain boldness in religious thought and has stood on the whole for freedom of conscience. When given full play under favourable circumstances the Iranian genius has blossomed forth in wondrous ways, and even when hampered and persecuted the Irani has known how to reconcile this freedom of spirit with the observance of strict orthodoxy.[1] Search for knowledge and search for truth have always been the guiding impulses of Iranian intellect. It was certainly not an exaggeration embodied in the well-known Arab tradition which states that, "Did Faith reside in the Pleiades, yet would men of this people (the Persians) reach it".[2] It was on account of this trait that Islam had its most glorious fruition in Iran.

Another characteristic of the Iranians is their ability to imbibe foreign culture and to make it their own, to adapt and mould it to their own genius. This necessarily implies a wide tolerance and breadth of mental horizon. The whole history of Iranian thought and culture shows how thoroughly they adapted and made their very own the cultures and the thoughts of various races.[3]

The full history of Iranian culture has yet to be written.[4] The pre-Islamic period is particularly obscure in this respect. Various aspects of this subject have been worked out in detail, but a great deal yet remains to be done. Archaeology is just beginning to tackle Iranian problems. Historians of ancient Iran are just becoming aware of her innumerable contacts with the various peoples who were her neighbours. The mutual give and take between Iran and other nations is extremely rich in its variety.

One might think of three broad types of cultre in Asia: 1. the Chinese,

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[1] The Sufi movement under Islamic rule is a very excellent example of this, but it is beyond the scope of this paper. See Iqbal, *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 96-111.

[2] Quoted by Browne in his *Literary History of Persia* (1st ed.), Vol. I, p. 264.

[3] To take one instance, the scripts used by the Iranians at all periods of their language development have been borrowed from the Semitic races. But the borrowing is not merely slavish, it had always been an adaptation to the needs and genius of the Aryan type of their languages. We may also mention the art and architecture of the Babylonians, which were borrowed by Achaemenian Iran and remoulded distinctly along Iranian lines. This same power of adaptation and assimilation has been a marked characteristic of the Parsis in India.

[4] I am not unmindful of E. G. Browne's magnificent volumes on the *Literary History of Persia*, a model for all literary histories to follow.

i.e., the Eastern, 2. the Aryan, the Central (or Southern) and 3. the Semitic or the Western. Iran represents essentially the Aryan culture, but owing to her geographical position she has had far more intimate contacts with the other two than India has had. Hence we find a very remarkable variation of the essentially Aryan culture blossoming forth in Iran.[5] This is what gives to Iranian thought its position in the history of Asiatic culture.

The earliest Iranian religious thought was of course Aryan, the same as we find embodied in the earliest Vedas. The same deities were worshipped and they are described in almost the same terms.[6] The traditions, the ritual, the social organisation, in short, the general outlook on life in pre-Zoroastrian Iran is the same as that found in the oldest parts of the Vedas. This aspect has been described in great detail by most Oriental scholars, both in this country and in the West, and so we need not repeat all that here. We may, therefore, safely take the Vedas as the common foundation of both Indian as well as Iranian thought and culture.

It is the usual practice, however, to take Zarathushtra as the starting-point of all Iranian religious and cultural history. He was the noblest and the greatest of the sons of Iran. He represented the fulfilment of a long line of ancient Sages and Teachers. He only carried out to their logical conclusion the religious ideas of the Iranian Aryas. Like all the other Prophets He had come "not to destroy but to fulfil". His Message, given in the Gāthās, is a repetition of the ancient wisdom taught by the Aryan Sages, and in its essence it does not differ from the teaching of the Vedic Ṛṣis. But He emphasised certain points and left clearly the mark of His great personality upon Iran. So deep was this mark of the Great Teacher that the religious thought of Iran has throughout its long history preserved the essentials of His Message.[7]

The exact date of the Prophet of ancient Iran is yet a disputed question. Most western scholars, however, are inclined to accept Jackson's conclusions that He lived about B.C. 1000. My personal view, based on the evidence of the Gāthās, both as regards the subject matter as well as the language, is that He was a contemporary of the earlier composers of

[5] Speaking of Sufiism Iqbal says: "Like the geographical position of its home, it stands midway between the Semitic and the Aryan, assimilating ideas from both sides, and giving them a stamp of its own individuality which, on the whole, is more Aryan than Semitic in character" (op. cit., p. 106). Perhaps it was just on account of this "geographical position" that Iran developed a broad-minded tolerance in the realms of thought.

[6] To give but one instance. Indra is described as being invoked by both sides in battle (ṚV., ii.12.8), and similarly before battle VerreOra Yna (Vṛtrahan) was invoked for victory in Iran (Yaśt xiv, 43-45). It may be added here that now it has been accepted by most scholars that many of the earlier Vedic hymns were composed outside India. So we need not hesitate to accept some of these earlier hymns as genuine Iranian documents.

[7] In the early days of Islam in Iran all the heresies that arose claimed to have Zarathushtra as their ultimate source. See Browne, op. cit., pp. 308 ff.

the Vedas. The late Ervad Meherjibhai P. Madan, in a paper he had prepared just before his death, had suggested that at the time of Zarathushtra's advent the vernal equinox occured in the zodiacal sign of Taurus. He has adduced very cogent arguments in support of this. The date thus arrived at, agrees remarkably well with that given by Jacobi and by Tilak in their estimate of the antiquity of the Vedas.

Zarathushtra's Message has emphasised five important points. These might well be regarded as the foundation of all subsequent religious thought in Iran. First and foremost of all was the acknowledgement of the One Suprme Being, the Source and the Goal of all manifestation.[8] Here Zarathushtra only reaffirmed the old Vedic teaching, *ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti* (the Truth is one, the wise in many ways call it) (RV., i. 164.46). But he laid such emphasis upon it that ever since his time the supremacy of Ahura-Mazda,[9] the Supreme Lord has never been challenged. The older "popular" deities of Aryans like Hvar (Svar, Sūrya), Miora (Mitra), Haoma (Soma),[10] Behrām (Vereerayna, Vṛtrahan) were entirely omitted from the Gāthās. But in later ages their worship once again became "popular" in Iran, and they regained their places in the complex ritual that had gradually grown up. The old hymns were once again collected together and the worship of these deities was again accepted as part of the religious beliefs, but still the supremacy of Ahura-Mazda was unshaken. No matter to which deity the hymn was dedicated the opening words always were, "by the grace of Ahura-Mazda".

Knowing well the difficulties of mortal man in grasping the idea of the Unlimited, owing to the limitations of our human mind, the Prophet gave us the six Ameshā-Spentā (Holy Immortals), who are in part His "emanations", typifying the varied aspects of the Supreme. They are often described as being "one in will with the Supreme" (Yasht xiii. 83); and in the Gāthās they are addressed as "the Ahura-Mazdas" in the plural (Yasna 30. 9 and 31.4). Later theology speaks of the *seven* "Holy Immortals", including the Supreme, as one with His Emanations. Another very noteworthy point is that three out of these six represent the Father-aspect of the Godhead, while the other three, feminine in gender represent the Mother-aspect of the Supreme.[11]

The second Truth taught by Zarathushtra is his wonderful explana-

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[8] The late Sir Mohammad Iqbal was of opinion that this uncompromising monotheism taught by Zarathushtra was due to Semitic influence

[9] This double name chosen by Zarathushtra for the Supreme Power signifies "Lord of Life" and "Lord of Matter".

[10] Haoma is mentioned in Iran as a Teacher and Prophet before the advent of Zarathushtra. It was probably he who introduced the Haoma (Soma)—cult in Iran.

[11] This division of the six 'emanation" into two triads (or three pairs) representing the Father-Mother aspect of the Supreme might be compared with the Trimūrti of the Hindus, each accompanied with his "wife". This association of the Ameshā-Spentā in three pairs can also be traced in the Gāthās. A similar grouping of six emanations of the Supreme "grouped in two triads" is to be noted in the religion of ancient Elam (Sykes, *History of Persia* (2nd ed.), Vol. I, p. 54).

tion of Good and Evil, the teaching about "the Twin Spirit". They are described as "created by Mazda",[12] and in post-Gāthic texts they are sometimes called "th twin Maintainere and creators."[13] The Gāthās describe them as "twins, well-working together" but eternally opposed to each other in thought, word and deed. When these twain came together first, one created LIFE and the other created NOT-LIFE,[15] so that "Creattion's purpose be fulfilled".[16] The most significant part of the teaching is the *negative* nature of the task of the spirit of Evil. If carried to its logical conclusion the idea can teach us only one lesson, namely, that Evil is not a substance but is rather of the nature of a shadow, or, to put it in different words, it means ultimately the "absence of Life and Light". In the ultimate Evil and all its creation is "Not-Life", hence the final victory must belong to the Good Spirit.

Whatever Evil might prove to be ultimately, at the end of the world-cycle, still, as far as our mundane life is concerned, it is very real, and to our mortal apprehension quite substantial. So for all practical purposes Zarathushtra treats of evil as something real and tangible. We human beings have to bear our share in this age-long struggle between Good and Evil, between Light and Darkness, and Zarathushtra expects us to choose the right side in the battle of life.

The third great Truth taught by Zarathushtra concerns this choice. He has given us in the plainest and most unmistakeable words the character of the Fredom of Human Will. At the very beginning of his Message he addresses his hearers in these very clear terms:

"Hear ye with your ears the highest I present,
And with illumined minds weigh them with care
Before you choose which of two Paths to tread
Deciding man by man, each one for each".[17]

The Etrenal Truths have to be heard from the Teacher and then pondered over "with clear mind", and then alone is the choice to be made—"man by man, each one for each." Man is "man" because of God's greatest gift to him, the gift of the Mind, the power of judging between right and wrong. That power has to be used in making our choice, each one for his own self. Every human being, because he possesses this divine gift of mind, has the fullest freedom given to him to

[12] *Mazdātā* (i.e. *Mazda-dātā*). Here the comparison of Puruṣa and Prakṛti both emanating from Īśvara is very suggestive. The Two Spirits thus really represent the Spirit and the Matter sides of Ahura-Mazda, and also explain the double name of the Supreme.

[13] Yasna 42, 2; 57. 2.

[14] Yasna 30. 3; 45. 2.

[15] The original words are *gaom-cā ajyāitīm-cā*, both from the root *ji*, (*skt. jiv.*) to live.

[16] Yasna 30. 4.

[17] Yasna 30. 2. I have translated this passage line by line, though the translation is a bit free.

choose between Good and Evil, and only *his own self* can be his guide. All this teaching is refreshingly modern in spirit; no authority of a Prophet or of a Scripture is flourished before our faces. The Prophet says that he has come only to point out the way to mankind; He has never said that we must choose the right because *He* has said so. He has given us a clear, matter of fact picture of what happens when people stand torn by doubts, and the Tempter comes to lead them astray, and thus they get their mortal life polluted.[18] He also draws clear pictures of those who choose the Right, and he speaks of "the final adjustment of accounts".[19] The Prophet has left his teaching at that. He has nowhere said "thus alone shall ye choose". He has definitely left the choice to each individual soul. In fact Zoroastrian Theology definitely mentions a "principle" in our human make-up which is named *urvān*, the Chooser.[20] This *urvān* is often invoked to help us to choose aright.[21] This teaching of the freedom of the human soul to choose his own path in life has given a dignity and a sense of responsibility to the Zoroastrian. This teaching had indeed served as the very pivot of Zoroastrian ethics.

Following directly and logically from this freedom of choice is the corresponding responsibility of man for his actions. This is the fourth great Truth taught by Zarathushtra, the Law of Karma. As a man sows so shall he surely reap. This law is very clearly laid down in the Gāthās. This law is summed up as follows:—

"If ye will only know and learn then Laws,
Which Mazdā hath ordained for ye, 6 men,—
The Law of Happiness, the Law of Pain,—
That Falsehood bring on age-long punishment,
That Truth leads on to fuller, higher Life,—
Upon all such the Light Divine shall dawn."[22]

This great Law is elaborately explained in Yasna 31 and elsewhere in the Gāthās, and the misery or the happiness following as a consequence of our deeds is clearly pointed out. It mal also be noted that this misery or happiness is more mental and spiritual than material.[23] Another point to be noted is that the misery following our evil deeds (what we may call "hell") does not last through all eternity. It is long-enduring ("age-long") but not eternal. Eternal damnation would not be quite consistent

[18] Yasna 30. 6.

[19] Yasna 31. 14. Bartholomae (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1770) uses the word "Abrechnung" in his rendering of this passage.

[20] It is derived from the root *var* (Skt. *vr.*), to choose. This root, it may be noted, is used in the *ātmanepada*, implying "choose for one's self". The *urvān* of Zoroastrian Theology corresponds closely to the *buddhi* principle of Vedānta.

[21] As in Nyāiš i. 9, where the worshipper invokes "his own *urvān*", in other words invokes his Higher Self.

[22] Yasna 30. 11.

[23] Such is the implication of Yasna 30. 4, where the word *mane* has been deliberately used.

with the idea of the ultimate and complete victory of the Good and the True.

The other idea, so intimately associated in Hinduism with the Law of of Karma, *viz.*, the doctrine of rebirth, is not clearly mentioned in the extant texts of the Avesta. In Hinduism this follows almost as corollary from the Law of Karma, and hundreds of passages in support might be quoted. But from the surviving remnants of Zoroastrian Scriptures we find no clear mention of rebirth.[24] There is, however, one passage in the Gāthās (Yasna 49, 11) which clearly speaks of the *urvān* "coming back,"[25] which might be taken as the one passage in the Avesta where rebirth is mentioned.[26]

In every religion various methods have been pointed out for the realization of God. The actual names used for these methods vary, as also the details, but we may broadly distinguish three such "Paths to God"—the Path of Knowledge (Jñāna-mārga), the Path of Devotion (*Bhakti-mārga*) and the Path of Service (*Karma-mārga*), and these correspond respectively to the Head, the Heart and the Hands of man. Every religion mentions these three in various ways and under various names, still each religion lays special emphasis upon one best suited to "the genius of the people' addressed. The Prophet of Iran emphasised the Path of Service and this forms the fifth essential Truth contained in His Message. Knowledge is to be sought to realise the supremacy of God and to understand the wondrous universe He has fashined. As a result of this realisation and understanding should come love and devotion felt for Him as the Father of all. This love of God can be shown in two ways either through utter devotion to Him and utter surrender to His Will or through love and service of His creatures, especially of our brother-man. This last method constitutes for us the finest realisation of the God upon earth. Hence Zarathushtra specially emphasised Service of Humanity as a cardinal virtue. The last line of the holiest verse[27] of the Avesta promises the strength of the Lord Himself to him who helps and serves his brother meek. Because of this emphasis laid upon the Path

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[24] The Dasātīr (Medhora's edition, Bombay, 1888, pp. 9 and 135) mentions rebirth in clear terms. But the work has been regarded by many as spurious and a forgery (Browne, op. cit., p. 53, ft. 1 and p. 56). Some Zoroastrians "mystically inclined" regard the book as authentic.

[25] This verse was discussed by Dastur Khurshed S. Dabu (a well-known authority on Zorastrian beliefs) in the Gujarati monthly, *Cherāg* (Vol. 9, 1908. pp. 177-181). But other scholars have translated it differently.

[26] Sohrab J. Balsara has pointed out a second passage of the Gāthā which he thinks refers to rebirth. It is Yasna 30. 10, where the word *zazente* occurs and Balsara translates it as "they are born again and again", taking the word as an intensive form of the root *zan*, to be born. I personally think that the context does not quite support this rendering.

[27] This holiest verse is the Ahuna-Vaiya". The whole of the first Gāthā is essentially an extensive commentary on this verse and hence it is named *Ahuna--vaiti*.

of Service, the religion of Zoroaster has always been against the seclusion of monastic life. Zarathushtra recommends a life of *active* benevolence rather than one of silent contemplation. Such active life is regarded by him as the crown of all knowledge and the finest manifestation of our love for God. The essence of this active love and service of man consists in making every act an offering to the Lord of all Creation, and "the Strength of the Lord" is promised to him "who unto the needy bringeth succour".[28]

Such was the Message of Zarathushtra to mankind and to Iran in particular. We see in the recorded history of Iran that whenever this Message and the ideals it embodied became a living force among the people, Iran rose high amongst the nations of the world.

About the disciples of the Prophet we posses but a few legends, some of them mutually conflicting. Of his immediate successors we have a mere list of names.[29] The age of the Prophet was so remote that even an account of His life is mainly legendary, although we get a real picture of the man from His own well authenticated Gāthās.[30] Between that age and the beginning of historical records in Iran there is a large gap. If we exclude the "Aryan dynasty' of Babylon (the Kassite dynasty), the earliest Aryan rulers of Iran were the Medes. They were probably Zoroastrians by faith, judging by what we read about them in the pages of Herodotus and other Greek writers. But as yet we have no first-hand material from which we may make any positive assertion.

Of the Achaemenians who succeeded them we have good and reliable contemporary evidence in the shape of numerous inscriptions. By race they were Persians (Pārsa) and hailed from the province of Pārs (modern Fars), from which more than once an Iranian revival originated. The Achaemenians were certainly Zoroastrians. Some passages in the Inscriptions of Darius the Great might have been direct translations from Avesta texts.[31] It was certainly the great ideals given by Zarathushtra that had inspired both Kurush and Darius in their great task of regenerating Iran. Both these rulers can rank among the greatest in the history of the world,

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28 This is the gist of the sacred *mantra* Ahuna-Vairya, which is regarded (and rightly regarded) as the holiest verse in the Zoroastrian Scriptures.

29 The Farwardīn Yasht (Yasht xiii) gives a long list of over three hundred persons "who strove for righteousness". It may be noted that a considerable number out of these are women.

30 Only one scholar, to my knowledge, has tried to given us a life of Zarathushtra based upon the Avesta texts, as distinct from the Pahlavi legendary accounts. This was the late Kharshedji Rustamji Cama, who published his *Zarathosht Nāmu* in Gujarati in 1870. Being in Gujarati it is not generally known to scholars, but it is by far the best life of Zarathushtra ever written. I have given a resumé of this work in the *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Bulletin*, No. 31, 1937, pp. 84-97.

31 Tolman has asserted (*American Journal of Philology*, 31) that "Darius was a Zoroastrian and almost in scriptural terms bears witness to the fact on his sepulchre". See also Ahl, *Outline of Persian History based on the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1922), pp. 69-78.

and yet there is a modesty and a simple whole-hearted faith in God apparent in every inscription of Darius, which proves that though he was a monarch over numerous lands and peoples, he was at heart a simple devotee who put unbounded trust in Ahura-Mazda and accepted every success in his life as a sign of His grace.[32]

All the Achaemenian monarchs had one characteristic in common—they were very tolerant in matters of faith. Perhaps this was due to the fact that they possessed a huge empire and had for subjects people of various races and religions. But more than a mere political prudence seems to have been the cause of this tolerance. It seems to have been based upon an appreciation of the other religions as well as upon a genuine goodness of heart. This is specially true of Kurush and Darius I. It is well-known that both these, though Zoroastrians, helped substantially and personally in the restoration of some of the bigger shrines of Babylon and Egypt. The restoration of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity has earned for Kurush an honoured place in the Old Testament Isliah xlv). As heads of the empire they even worshipped at these non-Zoroastrian shrines.[33]

It is but natural that these foreign religions should have influenced very considerably the Zoroastrian thought of the Achaemenian period. Still the centre of the empire remained at Persopolis throughout the whole of this period; and this being the centre of Pārs and of Aryan tradition, the religion retained its definitely Aryan and Zoroastrian characteristics. It had besides acquired all the importance and dignity of being the State-religion. In these days many Zoroastrians emigrated to outlying portions of the empire and they showed, in greater or less measure, distinct divergences from the "orthodoxy" at the centre. Ultimately the majority of these emigrants set themselves up as distinct independent units in their foreign homes and were finally absorbed by the people among whom they had settled.[34]

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[32] Browne, op. cit., pp. 93 ff., where he speaks of "the directness, dignity, simplicity and straightforwardness of diction" which characterise the Inscriptions of Darius the Great.

[33] As regards Darius, the Egyptians "in due time remembered him with the memorable legislators of their history". See R. W. Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia*, (1929), pp. 99 f.

[34] The ancestors of the modern Parsis of India were not the only Iranian Zoroastrian settlers in this land. Iranians had been coming over to India at all periods of recorded History. The Purāṇas (especially the Bhavisyat Purāṇa) make specific mention of such Iranian communities. The only group of Iranian emigrants that has survived in India as a separate entity is the present Parsi community The rest have been absorbed into the Indian (Hindu) population of the land. The main reason for this absorption seems to have been the very close similarity between the two cultures, which were both essentially Aryan. The Parsi group survived because they chanced to settle down among the lower aboriginal tribes of the Western sea coast of India. There are besides record of a considerable Iranian population all over Asia Minor, Syria, North Africa and Eastern Europe. There is nothing wonderful in this when we remember that for centuries these regions were part of the vast Iranian Empire. Even China had at one time a

The most potent influences on Iranian thought during the Achaemenian days came from Elam, Egypt and Babylon, and towards the end of the period from Greece.[35] The influence of Elam flowed mainly through Susa, the ancient capital, which enshrined the culture of ancient Elam.[36] There is, however, a remarkable parallel in Susian theology to Ahura-Mazda and His six Holy Immortals. "The chief deity, referred to as Shushinak or 'the Susian', dwelt in a forest sanctuary which was sacred, and to which only the priests and the king were admitted. Associated with Shushinak were six other deities of the first rank grouped in two triads".[37]

The parallels between Zoroastrian beliefs and those of Babylon and Egypt are fairly numerous and striking.[38] Especially striking is the representation of the soul by the Egyptians in the form of a bird with wings and the scene of the Judgment after death in other world, when the departed is weighed in the balance.[39] There are also funerary offerings of food to the departed, which are strangely similar to Zoroastrian beliefs and practices. It would be indeed hazardous to assert which nation was the borrower. Most likely both had inherited from an earlier body of beliefs.

When we consider the Babylonian religion and beliefs, we find an even larger number of similarities, especially in the "popular" forms of religion. Because Babylon was much nearer to Iran and because the Iranian Aryans had undoubtedly come into contact with the Babylonians much earlier, we must expect to find Babylonian influences on Iran much deeper than any others. In fact the Achaemenians were the culture heirs to the Babylonians. Achaemenian architecture is clearly a continuation of Babylonian, and even the scripts of Achaemenian Iran were taken from those of the Babylonians.[40]

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considerable Iranian Zerostrian population. Their numbers were large enough to warrant the appointment of a special official to look after their needs. No trace of these had been left when the first Parsis from India went to China at the beginning of the 19th century. (See Paul Peillot's paper, "Les influences iraniennes en Asie Centrale et en Extreme-Orient" in *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuse*, Vol. III, pp. 97-119).

[35] Greek influences began in Iran from the time of the Ionian Revolt (499 B.C.), but they became very prominent from the time of Kurush the Younger, the son of Darius II, who was killed at the battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.).

[36] The excavations at Susa (described to Bombay audience during several years by Dr. J. M. Unwala) have brought to light many very interesting points of ancient Iranian history and archaeology.

[37] Sykes, op. cit., p. 54. Some further details are given in my paper on "Some Aspects of the History of Zoroastrianism" in the *K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Journal*, No. 4, pp. 20-23.

[38] See my paper referred to in footnote 37 above for further details, pp. 23-29 for Babylon and pp. 29-35 for Egypt.

[39] Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, p. 119.

[40] The Old Persian Cuneiform script of the Achaemenian inscriptions was certainly an adaptation and simplification of the very complex Babylonian Cuneiform. This script was, however, merely decorative and suited for monuments alone. For ordinary daily use it was too cumbersome There was another script for ordinary daily use current in Babylon, an ancient form of Aramaic, from which our ancient Indian Kharosthī was derived. See Bühler's discussion of this point in his *Indische Palaeographic*.

Achaemenian Zoroastrianism was certainly influenced and was to some extent transformed by the various beliefs of these varied peoples. This is clearly seen in the rise of the Mithra-Anāhitā cult of the later Achaemenian days. The history of this cult shows clearly an attempted religious syncretism hearted tolerance of the later Achaemenians. It is quite remarkable to see Ishtar, the Egyptian Isis-Osiris mysteries and the Greek ceremonies of Dionysios on the other. This was certainly helped considerably by the wide-hearetd tolerance of the later Achaemenians. It is quite remarkable to see the change gradually coming on in the Inscriptions. The earlier Achaemenians invoked Auramazda (Ahura-Mazda) alone as "the greatest among the Deities" (*mathishta bagānām*), while the later rulers invoked Auramazda, Mithra and Anāhitā together. In course of time this Mithra-Anāhitā cult degenerated into orgies connected with the Spring-festival, and had its share in sapping the vitality of the ruling classes and thus became one of the causes of the downfall of the Achaemenian power. But there was another development of this cult which was deeper and purer. This was the cult of Mithra alone as "the Invincible Sun" (Sol invictus), the Lord of Justice and Truth.[41] In this purer form Mithraism spread over the whole of the civilised world in the centuries just preceding and following the birth of Christ. It had borrowed a great deal from the Gnostic teaching of the early Christians, but its foundations are to be sought in the ethics of Zarathushtra as given in the Gāthās. As a faith upholding justice and discipline it appealed strongly to the Romans. It was the most formidable rival of Christianity in its earlier days. It was only after the death of the Emperor Julian (the Apostate), 363 A.D., that Mithraism began to retreat before Christianity.

In Iran itself the conquest of Alexander the Great (331 B.C.) ushered in a new type of culture, the Hellenistic. Zoroastrianism suffered a most serious set-back by being ousted from its position as the religion of the ruling dynasty. But a far greater blow to Zoroastrianism was the burning of Persepolis by Alexander. For in that conflagration the whole of the collected volumes of Zoroastrian Scriptures perished utterly. This collection is said to have been made at the command of Darius the Great. Tradition speaks of two other copies preserved elsewhere. These seem to have been carried off by the Greeks, for we read of translations of the "Works of Zoroaster" as being found in the Serapium at Alexandria several centries later.[42] In any case the Hellenising tendencies brought in the wake of Greek domination caused an almost complete eclipse of the old faith.[43] It survived,

[41] See pp. 36-47 of my paper referred to in footnote 37. The whole matter can be studied in detail in Cumont's *The Oriental Religions and Roman Paganism*.

[42] Cumont, op. cit., p. 138; see also G. R. S. Mead, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 19. Iran never forgave Alexander for this sacrilege; Pahlavi writers have always called him "the accursed".

[43] After the conquest of Alexander the rulers of Iran, even when Iranians, prided themselves on the title "Phil-Hellenes" which they assumed. In religion they are said to have been Zoroastrian, but most of them were so only in name.

however, round about Persepolis, where a dynasty of Priest-Kings, said to have been directly descended from the Achaemenians, kept alive the ancient faith of Zarathushtra. The ancient texts were now remembered by heart and handed down from father to son and the ritual and ceremonial, too, were rigourously practised, in order to preserve them unchanged. These pious rulers of Persepolis remained true to their trust during the five centuries that intervened between the down fall of the Achaemenians and the rise of the next national dynasty.

The successors of Alexander present a most bewildering series of mutually warring dynasties and after about one hundred years of unceasing conflict the Parthian (Arshak or Arsacid) family comes out on top. These were Iranian by race and probably Zoroastrians outwardly, but their whole outlook on life was Hellenistic. The first Arshak established his power mainly with the help of the nomadic Parthians in the year 249 B.C. These Parthian nomads were wandering about in what are now known as the Khirgiz steppes near the Caspian Sea. Very little is known about their origin and their racial affinities. Probably they had some connections with the Sakas of ancient days; if so they might have been also of the Iranian stock. The religion of these Parthian nomads was a sort of debased Lamaism, tinged just a bit with Buddhist ideas. The superstitious beliefs in hosts of spirits and demons, who ought to be placated, swallowed up what little of Buddhistic religion there was. But Buddhism in its purer form had already penetrated into Eastern Iran.[44]

Tīrdāt, the second Arshak, conquered the more fertile lands to the south of the Caspian and made Hecatompylos his capital, where the religious influences were mainly nomadic, tempered with the Zoroastrianism (such as it was) of the rulers themselves.[45] As the empire extended and other races came under the sway of Parthia new influences began to work among the people. The turning point came when it was decided to shift the capital of Parthia, from Hecatompylos. After the conquest of Media by Mihrdāt II (Mithradates the Great, 124-89 B.C.) the ancient city of Ecbatana was made the capital. Later came the complete destruction of the Empire of the Seleucids and the acknowledgement of Parthia as the supreme power. At that time Hurodha (Orodes, 55-37) B.C.) founded Ctesiphon as his new capital. The site chosen was a few miles down the river Tigris from Seleucia and on the opposite bank. This remained the capital right upto the Arab conquest of Iran. It was in the centre of the Semitic peoples. At that

Parthian coins show complete Greek influence and until the days of Valkhash I (51-78 A.D.) the legends on the coins were entirely in Greek.

[44] Aśoka had sent Buddhist missions to all countries in all directions. Among them are mentioned Gandhāra (Afghanistan), Yavana (Bactria), and the Himalayan regions. See *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 498-499.

[45] Arshak, the founder of the dynasty, (255-247 B.C.) was himself a Zoroastrian, and soon after the establishment of the Arsacid power the Sacred Fire of Zoroastrianism was installed at a shrine in Parthia (*The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, p. 575).

period the Jews were the most important race there. They were besides a considerable power to the west in Syria and Palestine. Thus it was that Jewish influences began to permeate the religious beliefs and ceremonial of the Parthians. Side by side with these there were the popular forms of ancient Babylonian ceremonial and magic and superstitions which had not entirely disappeared. These influences led definitely to the emphasising of an uncompromising monotheism as the very foundation of all faith and an equally strong emphasis being laid upon ceremonial and ritualistic purity and upon the mystic symbolism of religious rites. Less than a hundred years later came the leaven of Christianity, then in its fresh purity, and the sublime ethics of Buddhism also began to percolate through to the higher classes in Iran.

It was in the midst of this wonderful conglomeration of religious ideas that the Arsacid emperor Valkhash I (Vologeses, 51-78 A.D.) started the revival of Zoroastrianism. He sent for Zoroastrian priests from all over his empire and asked them to collect once again all the scattered remnants of the ancient sacred texts. It was now that the pious and fostering zeal of the Priest-Princes of Persepolis began to bear fruit. This movement started new hopes throughout all Iran and Zoroastrians began to dream again of a revival of their ancient Aryan faith.

Valkhash seems to have been imbued with the virtue of kindness and a real affection for his brothers and other relations. He was always anxious to see justice done and to maintain peaceful relations with his neighbours. In all this he was utterly unlike his predecessors. This surely indicate a deeply religious mind and it is not impossible that it was the zeal for the revival of the religion of Zarathushtra that led him to cultivate these virtues But his successors went back to the old Parthian traditions of fratricidal strife and wars with Rome and Armenia. As a result Ctesiphon was taken and sacked three times by the Romans in the course of one century.[46] Though each time the Romans were forced to withdraw with terrible losses, still these three defeats were felt as national disasters and immediately after the third sack of Ctesiphon the national revolt of Aryan Zoroastrians against the Parthians began under the leadership of the Sasanias Ardashīr Pāpakān.[47]

Ardashīr defeated the last Parthin emperor Ardavān V and ascended the throne of Iran as Shāhān-Shāh in 226 A.D. The very first thing he undertook was the revival of the religion of Zarathushtra. The work begun by Valkhash I was zealously carried onwards. There were great Desturs in those days to help Ardashīr in this work, men like Ardā Vīrāf and Taosar. Ardashīr himself was a priest and so he took the lead in this religious revival. The scattered texts were again reassembled and re-edited, translations and commentaries on these were prepared and the ritual and ceremonial were remodelled. New hymns and prayers were composed in the Pahlavi

[46] By Trajan in 114 A.D., by Severus in 197 A.D., and by Caracalla in 216 A.D.

[47] It may be noted that this national Aryan revival also began in Pārs, because Ardashīr was a Pārsī.

language (the language of the people) so that a good part of what was recited could be understood by the common people.

These translations and commentaries were quite elaborate and they present to us a system of beliefs and ceremonial that have survived more or less intact to this day amongst the Parsis. Indeed ritual and ceremonial seem to have constituted the larger portion of Sassanian Zoroastrianism. An extremely elaborate system of ceremonial purification was laid down and great stress was laid on ensuring freedom from "contamination" from every possible source.[48] An excellent but extremely complex sanitary code was thus brought into being and personal hygiene seems to have reached a high level in those days.

The faith that thus emerged in the days of the Sassanians was distinctly different from what it had in the days of the Achaemenians. Lots of new ideas had come in through Pathian beliefs, through Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism[49] and others fatiths.[50] Careful scrutiny and patient sifting of the fragments surviving today reveal these influences clearly, especially as by great good luck we have got the original teaching of Zarathushtra as given in the Gāthās preserved almost intact and unchanged. The later Sassanian Commentaries on these Gāthā texts show clearly how far the minds of the people had changed in the course of centuries and what influences had been working in the moulding of Sassanian Zoroastrianism.

The main idea behind all the elaborate details of ceremonial was to keep at a distance "the brood of the Arch-Fiend", who were believed to be lurking everywhere to pounce upon the unwary. "The Demon of the Corpse" (*Druj Nasus*) was especially dreaded and hence ceremonies for the dead grew extremely complex and elaborate. This exorcism of the demon runs all through the pages of the famous book of Avesta, the *Vendīdād*, whose very name *Vī-daevadāta* means "the Code to overpower the Demons." This same tendency is also a marked feature of the majority of Pahlavi texts of this period. Though orthodox Zoroastrians regard all these writings as authoritative Scriptures even today, still an unbiassed critical examination clearly shows a very great departure from the lofty spirituality of the Gāthās.[51] It is just this obsession of the *Druj* which makes the

48 A careful examination of these ideas of "impurity" (which are still held among orthodox Zoroastrians) undoubtedly points to a primitive stage of culture, where *fear* is the chief motive force. Undoubtedly this is the contribution of the Parthian nomads, strengthened by the superstitious beliefs of the lower strata of the Semitic population around Babylon.

49 A number of purely Buddhist works written in Middle Iranian dialects (contemporary with Sasanian Pahlavi) are known to exist These are valuable not only linguistically but also from the point of view of the exchange of religious ideas.

50 Very probably there was also some infiltration of Hindu ideas also at a later period, when Noshīrwān invited Hindu Pandits to his court.

51 As an instance may be quoted the Pahlavi version of Yasna 29.7 (a verse from the Gāthās). The Pahlavi version seems to have lost entirely the spirit of the original and the Sanskrit version of Nairyosang definitely hints at this. I have discussed this at length in my paper on 'A Difficult Gāthā Verse (Yasna xxix.7)' in

religious literature of the Sassanian times seem strange and often repulsive to modern scholars. The resistance to be offered to the *Druj* in the Vendīdād is very different from the fight against the *Druj*, the Spirit of Falsehood which Zarathushtra had taught in the Gāthā. It is also different from the fight which Darius the Great waged against the *Draoga* (Falsehood) of his enemies, which he has described in simple dignified words in his great Behistun inscription. Naturally in due course of time earnest and thoughtful inquirers began to question these new ideas. They had found that the eleborate washings and penances prescribed in the Sassanian Scriptures brought scant solace to the soul of the seeker after Truth.

The Sassanian Empire was from its very inception founded upon two ideas—an autocratic ruler and an all-powerful priesthood. These two formed the two pillars of the State. This was symbolised on all Sassanian coins; on the reverse is depicted a fire altar with two figures, fully armed, supporting it. One of these represented the King of Kings and the other the Datūrān-Dastūr (the Religious Head) of Iran. How closely the State was identified with the Church can be seen from the advice given by Ardashīr on his death-bed to his son and successor Shāpūr. Explaining the essentials of Kingship the dying monarch says: "Call Faith and Kingship brothers."[52] The Rulers themselves being priests scrupulously followed every injunction of ceremonial and often themselves conducted complex ceremonies.[53]

The first two Sassanians, Ardashīr Pāpakān (226-240 A.D.) and Shapūr I (240-271 A.D.); were men of great strength of character, of deep piety and of utter devotion to their high ideals. They could inspire their followers (the nobility and the priesthood) to be equally devoted to the cause of their country and their religion. Powerful as the latter necessarily became, these two monarchs were strong enough to keep them within due bounds, and as a consequence both these great rulers gained the genuine love of all their subjects. Though they were such staunch Zoroastrians, they understood that a far-flung empire as theirs needed to be governed with tolerance and equity towards people of other faiths.

In the reign of Shāpūr I, on the very day he was crowned, Mani,[54]

Oriental Studies in Honour of Dasturji Cursetji Erachji Pavri, 1933, pp. 462-466. The Vendīdād also, though an Avesta Scripture, seems to have been composed in its present form during the Sassanian times. Not merely the ideas of that work but even the *language* with its chaotic grammar seems to show that it was composed in its present form under the influence of Pahlavi.

[52] See *Shāh-Nāma*, Kutar's edition, Vol. VII, p. 202; Warner's translation, Vol. VI, pp. 286-287.

[53] Tradition says that the Sassanians were descended from the independent Royal House of Persepolis who trace their descent ultimately from the Achaemenians. That they were also priests is borne out be an Arab tradition that they were called "Hirbad" (Avesta, *aeOrapaiti*, Master of Fire). See Clement Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation* p. 111.

[54] A very good account of Mani and his teachings together with a resumé of the latest researches in Manichaeism has been given by A. V. W. Jackson in his

one of the greatest thinkers of his age made his first appearance. He was a man of deep learning and large-hearted sympathies. He was a deep student of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism. He preached brotherhood and toleration in matters of religion and formulated an eclectic system of his own in which he tried to reconcile the three great faiths as also other spiritual ideas prevalent in Iran in those days.[55] This naturally gave great offence to the orthodox Zoroastrian clergy and they demanded his suppression.[56] Shāpūr, however, being a strong ruler managed to save his life, but Mani was asked to leave Iran. He did so and travelled extensively in North India, Tibet, Khorasan and Chinese Turkestan. On the death of Shāpūr he returned to Iran and managed to remain alive during the short reign of Hermazd I (271-273 A.D.) But the next ruler Behrāh I (273-275 A.D.) had him seized and flayed alive. His followers were suppressed with great cruelty.

Mani postulated an uncompromising dualism which lasts from the very beginning to all eternity.[57] The Domains of these two remain eternally separate and distinct, and there is a sort of "twilight region" in between constituting a "Border". At first, before this visible creation came into being, these two Powers were entirely separate. The Domain of Light was the abode of Spirit and Goodness while in the Domain of Darkness were to be found Matter and Evil. When the visible Universe was about to begin the Powers of Darkness broke through the Border and surged upwards into the Realm of Light and "the fateful conflict with its direful struggle and momentous events was ushered in". To counteract this upward rush of Evil the Principle of Light "evoked" various Powers and Luminous Agents from Itself, and these in their turn "evoked" their own helpers and thus arose all creation.

In the production of mankind the Evil Powers "played not an involuntay part but an active role of their own wicked designing, the creation of the two sexes being especially the work of the Evil One. His fiendish aim was by this means to incarcerate the Light in the bends of the Carnal body". The aim of human life should therefore be to get rid of this primaeval evil in its very being "through a life of renunciation, ascetic in its rigouer" untill salvation is attained. Zarathushtra, Buddha, Jesus and the other great Teachers have pointed out the way. The Path could be attained by following the precepts of the Religion of Purity, the Religion of Light. Salvation was not for the individual alone, "but also the universe was concerned, and to this end the organisation of the cosmic world was ordained".

Researches in Manichaeism with special Reference to the Turfan Fragments (New York, 1932).

[55] "The religion of Mani . . . . was distinctly and designedly a synthesis," says Jackson (op. cit., p. 7).

[56] Mani was called "the Crippled Devil" by the orthodox Zoroastrian clergy because he was lame (Jackson, op. cit., p. 6).

[57] The whole cosmogenesis as described by Mani is very complex and highly

The followers of Mani were divided into the Elect and the Laity. The former had to live "a lift of celibacy and extreme austerity exemplifying the highest standard of life," and his only work upon earth was teaching and preaching. It is also remarkable that women also were admitted among the Elect. The Laity were also called "the Hearers".[58] They were free to marry, but monogamy was strictly enjoined. The main task of the Laity was to engage in lucrative pursuits and out of their gains to support the Elect and to further the spread of religion. This twofold division of his followers is clearly modelled on Buddhism.

Mani also taught in very clear terms the doctrine of reincarnation and the slow upward progress of a soul from an ordinary "Hearer" upto an "Elect" and then onwards step by step until Perfection was attained.

Manichaeism spread far and wide just because Mani was banished and was forced to wander from country to country during many years. This faith attained considerable dimtnsions outside Iran, especially in Central Asia and in China where it flourished for nearly a thousand years. It also spread westwards all over North Africa and penetrated into Europe, through Sicily. The zeal of St. Augustine[59] did much to suppress Manichaeism amongst the Christians, but its doctrine continued to spread under various disguised names in various countries of Europe till about the middle of the 16th century.[60]

The first two Sassanians were certainly very ardent Zoroastrians and strove their utmost to establish the Faith of Zarathushtra as the National Faith of Iran. Thty were nevertheless far-sighted rulers, fully aware that in their extensive empire lived men of different faiths as well. So while they made Zoroastrianism the State Religion, they showed a broad-minded toleration towards all the other faiths. The teaching of Mani in many of its details gave offence to the narrow-minded among the Zoroastrian clergy, and had it not been for the personal influence of Shāpūr, Mani could never have got out of Iran alive. Ardashīr and Shāpūr between them ruled over Iran for 45 years, long enough to lay down firmly the foundations of the Sassanian rule. Both were distinctly supermen and their rule even though completely autocratic was just and their subjects were happy and contented.

The next four rulers were not strong men, and during their combined rule of 23 years (271-292 A.D.) the aristocracy contrived to secure their power a little more firmly. Narshi the next Shāhān-Shāh (292-301 A.D.)

imaginative and mystical. For details see Jackson, op. cit., pp. 7-20. The quotations given here are from that work.

[58] The actual name used in Manichaean texts is *nigeshak*; cf. the Indian term *śrāvaka*.

[59] St. Augustine was a Carthagenian and had been a follower of Mani before he embraced Christianity.

[60] Such as the Bogomile of Bulgaria, the Cathari of Milan and the Albigensis of Southern France.

was well above the average but his reign was short. His successor Hormazd II (301-309 A.D.) was distinctly weak.

Then followed the long and glorious reign of Shāpūr II, surnamed "the Great" (309-379 A.D.), who was actually crowned before his birth. This gave to the aristocracy and the orthodox clergy fifteen years more of minority to consolidate further their power. They had the entire education of the boy king in their hands and the training he received had a distinct bias in their own favour. They wanted him to grow up into a narrow-minded, orthodox and intolerant Zoroastrian very much like themselves.

The vested interests had thus got a sufficiently long period (271-324 A.D.), till Shāpūr came of age, in which to consolidate their power, and they made the best use of this. But Shāpūr was indeed "Great", a man of iron will, and he soon proved himself the real master of Iran. He was quite able to control both the nobles as well as the clergy, and showed them quite plainly that he meant to be their master. Hence during his long and glorious reign Iran was properous and the people as a whole were contended and happy.

Yet one section of his people were profoundly unhappy and these were the Christians. For this their deplorable condition the blame attaches primarily to Constantine, the Christian Emperor of Byzantium. He had declared himself the Head of all the Christians of the world. As their spiritual head this claim might possibly have been tolerated, but he claimed even the personal allegiance of the Iranian Christians in event of a war. This was a challenge which Shāpūr, the proudest of a proud race, could not tolerate for a moment.[61] From this time began the persecution of the Christians in Iran which went on with increasing severity right upto the days of Noshīrwān.[62] As a natural result of this persecution, feelings between Zoroastrians and Christians became extremely embittered. Not only that but the observances urged by the Zoroastrian priests upon their own followers became more stringent and were enforced with greater insistence.[63] One reason for this stringency was to ensure safety against all

[61] Clement Huart (op. cit., p. 157) quotes from an order of Shāpūr the Great: 'They (the Christians) dwell in our territory and share the sentiments of Caesar, our enemy''.

[62] The Council of Nicaea, and the consequent adoption of the Athana Creed by the Byzantine Christians led ultimately to the entire separation of the Church of Iran from that of Byzantium. This in itself led to a slight relaxation of the stringent rules against the Christians in Iran. ut the seeds of bigotry and hatred sown by both sides could not be eradicated for centuries later. So deep had this hatred of Christians taken hold of the minds of the Sassanian Zoroastrians that every enemy of Iran was called a Christian. Thus Alexander of Macedon, the arch-enemy of Zoroastrian Scriptures, has been called a Christian by Pahlavi writers!

[63] Many of the observances enforced upon the Zoroastrians were on purpose made just the opposite of Christian usage. Thus, celibacy of the clergy was denounced, and marriage was enforced as a sacred duty on all Zoroastrian priests. Similarly the

insidious propaganda by the Christians. As a result of these bitter disputes between the two great sections of the Iranian nation, narrow-mindedness and intolerance increased among the Zoroastrians, specially among the clergy. And this feeling of mutual hatred went a long way towards weakening the very foundations of Sassanian rule.

The whole of the early training of Shāpūr the Great was distinctly directed to the upholding of the powers of the aristocracy and the clergy. But being a man of indomitable courage and possessing great political sense and prudence, he invariably checked them both if they went beyond certain limits, although on the whole his real sympathies were on their side. They did, however, get considerable indirect support and encouragement from him in their dealings with the masses.

After the death of Shāpūr the Great came a long succession of very ordinary rulers, who were content to be mere figureheads in the state. The real power was vested in the hands of the nobles and the priests, the masses did not count at all. The bitterness against non-Zoroastrians, especially Christians, became gradually stronger and stronger. When one monarch, Yazdagird I (399-420 A.D.), tried to be a little tolerant he was promptly threatened the dethronement and his name has come down in Iranian history as Beze-ger (the Wicked).[64] His son was the famous Behrām Gor (420-440 A.D.), a ruler of great ability. He was the one strong ruler in the long period [65] extending from the death of Shāpūr II to the accession of Kawādh I (Qobād) a ptriod covering more than a century—379-487 A.D. The unsuccessful wars of Firz 459-483 A.D.) against the white Huns added to the prevailing discontent. The conditions at the time of the accession of Kawādh were very closely similar to those prevailing in France on the eve of the French Revolution, or in Russia at the end of the First World War. The causes in all three lands, though separated so widely both in space and time, were similar and the results too were alike.[66] In Sassanian

practice of monasticism, the burial of the dead, the scant respect paid by the Christians to Fire and Water were a constant source of irritation to the Zoroastrian priests. See Sykes, *History of Persia* (2nd ed.), Vol. I, pp. 414-415.

[64] Clement Huart, op. cit., p. 128

[65] Behrām Gor's reign was almost wholly occupied in fighting against the White Huns (the Ephthalites), who appear now for the first time as grave menace to the safety and integrity of Iran.

[66] In the last chapter of his *Tale of Two Cities* Charles Dickens has given a wonderful analysis of the real causes of the excesses of the French Revolution. It is worth reproducing here. Referring to six tumbrils rolling along the streets of Paris, carrying the victims of the guillotine, he says:

"Six tumbrils roll along the streets. Change these back again to what they were, thou powerful enchanter, Time, and they shall be seen to be the carriages of the absolute monarchs, the equipages of feudal nobles, the toilettes of flaring Jezebels, the churches that are not my father's house but dens of thieves, the huts of millions of starving peasants. No; the great magician who majestically works out the appointed order of the Creator, never reverses his transformation".

Elsewhere he says; "Crush humanity out of shape once more under similar

Iran also, as the result of so many years of oppression and neglect of the masses we get as the inevitable result the doctrines of Mazdak.

No first hand sources of Mazdak's teaching[67] have survived ; they were all presumably completely destroyed when the movement was suppressed with terrible bloodshed towards the end of Kawādh's reign (528 or 529 A.D.). Whatever information we possess today is from the professed enemies of the movement and hence we get only a one-sided picture. A great deal of care and unbiassed thought is needed to deal with this movement at all adequately.

It seems that Manichaeism though "officially" dead in Iran, had left deep roots in the minds of the people. The gnostic and the ascetic side of that faith had a strong appeal to a certain type of mind,—the mystic type which is peculiarly Iranian. There were certain other minor movements going on almost from the days of Shāpūr the Great which had kept alive the essential factors of Mani's teaching. Mazdak came to revive these teachings and to give them a definitely politico-social bias.

It was not so much the mysticism of Mazdak that disturbed the ruling classes but the social ideas that naturally flowed therefrom. Mazdak may in many senses be called the first Bolshevik, and in certain respects he went even beyond them. For he preached not merely common possession of property but also common possession of women.[68] At first it was the gnosis and the mysticism in his teaching that attracted the people and even the Shāhān-Shāh Kawādh. But the forces that had been gathering underground were far too strong, and soon the movement, originally intended as a reform of religion and a going back to the ideas of Brotherhood and Service, became in the hands of an uncontrolled mob a violent and dangerous revolution. The most significant point about it was that it spread with the rapidity of a forest conflagration.

"By their fruits shall ye know them". We have no record of the seed sown in Iran during the two centuries or so preceding Mazdak, but we possess enough records of the terrible harvest, from which we may infer the seed, if the Laws of God have any meaning. The danger was imminent terrible, and Kawādh understanding the real causes of the movement tried to lead it in right channels by taking their lead himself. But the vested inerests were too powerful, and so[69] Kawādh was promptly depostd and his brother Jāmāsp was installed in his place (499 A.D.). Kawādh just managed to escape with his life and his brother was too gentle to pursue him further. Two years later (501 A.D.) Kawādh was restored and more worldly-wise he withdrew his open support of the Mazdakites. For the remaining thirty

hammers, and it will twist itself into the same tortured forms. Sow the same seed of rapacious licence and oppression over again and it will yield the same fruit according to its kind".

[67]. The article on "Mazdak" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Vol. III., pp. 430-433) gives a good bibliography and discusses the various sources of our information.

[68] If we remember the teaching of Mani regarding the origin of the sexes, we need not wonder at this development under Mazdak.

[69] Even his Christian subjects "sincerely admired him", (Sykes, op. cit., p. 457).

years of his rule Kawādh had to steer a very difficult course. He tried his best to see that the masses were oppressed less, but he ntver felt himself strong enough nor safe from the all powerful aristocrats, both lay and spiritual. His favourite son Khusraw was his right-hand man during most of these years, and he observed the situation with a very keen and clear vision and no doubt he had thought deeply over it.

On Kawādh's death (531 A.D.) Khusraw, the ablest of his sons, was elected to the throne. He was the greatest of the Sassanians, and indeed one of the greatest among the rulers of mankind. He had already made up his mind as regards the state of Iran. He knew and fully realised the great danger that was threatening Iran with an internal explosion, if the Mazdakites were not checked. As soon as he was firmly seated upon the throne he set about suppressing the Mazdakites relentlessly. But like a true "physician of the State" he has also diagnosed the deeper causes of the disease. He had recognised that the distorted doctrines of Mazdakism were but the outward symptom of a disease which has its roots deep hidden in the body politic. So while he took drastic steps to roo out the symptoms he also set about with equal firmness to pull out the roots as well.

The great founder of the Sassanian Empire had declared that there can be no power without an army, no army without money, no money without agriculture, no agriculture withut justice. Khusraw vividly realised the truth of this. He saw that merely wiping out the Mazdakites would not cure the evil, so he made stern Justice the watchword of his life. With clear clear vision and with utter singleness of purpose he took up the task of saving Iran, and though in the beginning he seemed very cruel and vidictive, it was soon realised that Iran was about to shake off the disease which was eating up her very vitals. Very early in his reign he got the title of "Adl", the Just. There is the famous story of the Roman ambassador looking at the magnificent garden surrounding the royal palace. It was laid out in a fine geometric pattern, yet in one corner there was a strange want of symmetry. The Roman asked the reason why the garden had been spoilt in this manner. He was told that the adjacent land was the property of an old widow who would not sell it, and that the King would not take it by force. The ambassador exclaimed: "This irregularity is more beautiful than the most perfect symmetry".

Little by little his subjects, even the humblest, realised what this selfless and just ruler meant to them. Prosperity and peace returned to Iran and security and justice as well. Above all there was a return to toleration of religious belief such as Iran had not known since the days of the first two Sassanians. Hindu Pandits were invited from India, and Christian philosophers persecuted in Byzantium were made welcome in Iran. These facts may be cited in proof of the toleration practised by Khusraw. For these inestimable gifts which he brought to Iran, for the peace and goodwill he had extended to all his subjects, and above all for the strict justice he meted out to all,[69] for all these his grateful subjects endowed Khusraw

with the most glorious title a man could earn, the immortal name of *Anushak-Rubān* (*Noshīrwān*), "He of the Immortal Soul".

After a glorious reign of 47 years Noshīrwān passed away (578 A.D.) leaving a name honoured all over asia.[70] After the removal of the strong hand of Noshīwān the Sassanian Empire fell once again into the old ways. There was just a flicker of outward pomp and greatness under Khusraw II (Parvīz, 590-627 A.D.), who was an able man but more mindful of pleasure and luxury than of his imperial duties. The old abuses removed by the strong hand of Noshīrwān came back with ever renewed force. And after the death of Khusraw Parvīz there followed a welter of anarchy. Within two years a dozen Kings and Queens were put upon the imperial throne of Iran and removed. The masses were crushed utterly in this ignoble fighting for selfish power. There was no Mazdak this time to preach reform and brotherhood, but a great Prophet had already arisen in another land, in Arabia.

When the Prophet of Islam had begun preaching the new Gospel to the Arabs some Iranians of learning and repute had joined him. Parsi tradition mentions among these one "Dastūr Dinyār, better known in Islamic history as Salmān Fārsī.[71] He became a trusted companion of the Prophet and among certain sects his name is among the three regarded as the holiest in Islam.[72] This remarkable man formed the first link between Iran and Islam. He is said to have communicated to the Prophet a great deal of the inner teaching of Zarathushtra's faith, and helped to make Islam acceptable to Iran.

The Prophet of Allāh taught about the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and in early Islam His followers practised what He had preached. Naturally, therefore, the new faith brought new hope and fresh courage to the oppressed masses. "The usual story of the Arabs coming down upon Iran with the Qor'ān in one hand and the sword in the other is certainly very misleading. The Arab did come with the Qor'ān, and as they were eager to make converts, so with it they also brought the message of Brotherhood which had long been forgotten in Iran. What is more, the early Arab rulers of Iran actually practised this brotherhood. The stories of the persecutions of Zoroastrians in Iran *by the Arabs at the*

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[70] The Prophet of Arabia is reported to have remarked with pride that he had been born in the reign of the Just King. Browne has quoted (op. cit., p. 136) a couplet of Sa'dī which he translates,

"The blessed name of Noshīrwān doth still for justice stand.
Though long hath passed since Noshīrwān hath vanished from the land".

Browne also assets (op. cit., p. 168) that Noshīrwān "was generally regarded as favourably disposed towards the Christians".

[71] Browne, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

[72] The Syrian sect of the Nusayrīs include Salmān in their "mystical Trinity", which they designate with the letters A-M-S (Alī, "the idea"; Mohammad, "the Name"; and Salmān, "the Gate"). See Browne, loc. cit.

time of the conquest are not true.[73] There were several very strong proofs of this tolerance towards the conquered Zoroastrians which can be quoted from history. In the first place the Prophet himself had admitted Zoroastrianism to be 'revealed' religion and so the followers of that faith were to be regarded as "a People of the Book'.[74] Secondly, it has been recorded that the Khalīfa Omar, zealous as he was for the spread of Islam, categorically prohibited the forcible conversion of Zoroastrians to Islam on economic grounds. According to the law of Islam non-Moslems had to pay the poll-tax, and unless there were a sufficient number of such people the expenses for carrying out the administration could not be met.[75] Thirdly, we know that right upto the days of Khalīfa al-Ma'mūn (813-833 A.D.) Zoroastrians existed in large numbers in Iran and beyond the payment of the poll-tax they were not subjected to any special hardship. As a matter of fact the most important as well as the longest Pahlavi work on Zoroastrian theology the *Denkart* was written by Ātūr Farnbag, son of Farukhzāt at the express desire of al-Ma'mūn himself. This work gives a detailed account of the laws and customs of the Zoroastrians. It also gives fairly detailed summaries of the whole of the twenty-one Nasks, the sacred books of Zoroastrianism. This certainly proves that Zoroastrianism was not dead in Iran, nor were the sacred books destroyed till almost two hundred years after the Arab conquest. Several other important Pahlavi texts were written about the same time or shortly after. Among them we may mention the *Būndahism*, the *Epistles of Mānūscihr*, the *Zātsparam* and the *Shikand-Gūmānīk-Vijār*. About the last-named "we may be quite sure that it was written long after the Arab conquest of Persia." In this work we find criticism of Islamic beliefs and the author clearly states that "he did not admire the religion that was then in supremacy".[76]

The usual idea of most people seems to be that the Arab conquest of Iran marks a clear breach in the life and culture of the Iranian race. Nothing can be further from truth. We must be specially on our guard against the narrow view that the period immediately following the Arab conquest was a blank page in the life of Iran. "It is on the contrary a period of immense and unique interest, of fusion between the old and the new, of transformation of forms and transmigration of ideas, but in no wise of death. Politically, it is true, Persia ceased for a while to enjoy a separate

[73] This does not mean that the Zoroastrians of Iran were never persecuted by the Moslems. The persecutions actually began when the rulers, under the influence of narrow-minded bigotry, tried to enforce only one particular set of dogmatic beliefs. In these persecutions the non-orthodox Moslems suffered equally with the Non-Moslems.

[74] Browne narrates (op. cit., p. 202) that the Khalīfa 'Omar "had some doubts as to how he ought to deal with the conquered Magians (Zoroastrians), but 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b' Awf sprang to his feet and cried, 'I bear witness of the Apostle of God that he said, "Deal with them as ye deal with the People of the Book!' "

[75] I had heard this from Professor Browne himself in my student days at Cambridge quite thirty years ago.

[76] *Pahlavi Texts, Part III* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. xxiv), edited by E. W. West, Introduction, pp xxvi-xxvii, and p. 169.

national existence, being merged in that great Muhammadan Empire which stretched from Gibraltar to the Jaxartes, but in the intellectual domain she soon began to assert the supremacy to which the ability and subtlety of her people entitled her. Take from what is generally called Arabian science—from exegesis, tradition, theology, philosophy, medicine, lexicography, history, biography, even Arabic grammar the work contributed by the Persians, and the best part is gone."[77] What was changed in Iran was the dominant religion and the outward forms of worship.

Conversions to Islam took place in large numbers among the Iranians. Some of these (perhaps a goodly number from among the higher classes) were due to reasons of personal safety or the gaining of some worldly advantage. Among the masses too these might have been the more important reasons for conversion. But we must admit that a good proportion of these conversions were due to inner conviction.[78] They found the ethics of Islam simple yet lofty and applicable to daily life,[79] the ceremonial simpler and more directly appealing to the ordinary man, and above all they found brotherhood put into practice among Moslems Indeed the teachings of Mazdak, not yet forgotten, had prepared the way.

Even as regards territorial conquest, the Battle of Nahāwand (642 A.D.) did not end the resistance of the Iranians to the Arabs. Iranians continued to offer stubborn resistance in certain localities for many years. This was specially marked in "the province of Pārs, the cradle and centre of Persian greatness".[80] In Tabaristān, protected by its forests, the Ispahbads continued to rule as independent sovereigns till about 760 A.D. and the Eastern mountain regions of Iran remained centres of Zoroastrianism for a long while.[81]

The simple and lofty teachings of the Qor'ān were strictly followed in the early days, especially under the first four "Orthodox" Khalīfas. During that period many of the Companions, who had known the Prophet personally, were yet living and could bear witness to the life of the Master Himself in determining many a disputed point of the Scriptures. As the number of these dwindled there grew up a tendency among certain class of Arabs to adhere more and more strictly to the *letter* of the Qor'ān. It

77 Browne, op. cit., p. 204. The remainder of this splendid volume is a development of this theme.

78 There certainly were some conversions by force also, but the authorities did not encourage these. Browne (op. cit., p. 206) mentions that "severe punishment was inflicted by Muhammadan authorities on persons whom an indiscreet zeal led to injure or destroy the fire-temples".

79 "The great strength of Islam lies in its simplicity, its adaptibility, its high yet perfectly attainable ethical standard" (Browne, op. cit., p. 188).

80 Op. cit., p. 200.

81 Yezd and Kermān in Eastern Iran are even today the chief centres of Zoroastrian Iran.

was here that the Iranian mind was unable to agree completely.[82] Iranians wanted Islam to be interpreted very differently from what these orthodox Arabs did. Besides this growing and narrow orthodoxy there was also the racial pride of the Arabs, who as conquerors were inclined to look down upon all Iranians, whether Moslems or not, as altogether inferior to themselves.[83] These causes tended to create a very sharp division between the Arab and the Irani within a very few years of the conquest.

The pride of the Arabs was almost entirely racial and its only basis was the fact that they had been victorious in battle. Intellectually and culturally the Iranians were distinctly higher. The "official language" of Iran had changed from Pahlavi to Arabic, and although the Arabs took great pride in the purity of their language, yet even here the Iranians showed their superior intellect.[84] Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', a converted Zoroastrian, has an assured position 'amongst the past-masters of the Arabic tongue".

The murder of the third Khalifs 'Othman' destroyed once and for all the semblance of unity which had hitherto existed in Islam",[85] and clearly marked out the separate destinies of the Arab and the Iranian. The next to be chosen as the Khalīfa was 'Alī. Many high-placed and important personages in the Moslem world were sorely disappointed, but to the Iranian this choice came as the recognition (although a bit tardy) "of his well-founded claims to that high office". The Iranians, recognising different grades of society and also hereditary monarchy, wanted the principle to be extended to the "apostolic succession" to the Prophet also. Because the Prophet had left no son, the succession, to the Iranian mind, should have been vested in his daughter Fātima and her husband 'Alī. Moreover he was a cousin of the Prophet and the best beloved among his disciples. Besides the Iranians were particularly grateful to him for the treatment of Shahr-Bānū, a daughter of Yezdagird III, the last Sassanian ruler of Iran, after she had been captured. He had saved her from all molestation and had later given her in marriage to his own son Husayn. Thenceforth both the Apostolic succession and the Imperial succession to the crown of Iran were united in the person of Husayn and his line. The Shī'a faction in Islam was started upon the death of 'Alī, and Iran unanimously decided to supported the house of 'Alī, because they represented this double claim, both spiritual and temporal. The tragedy of Kerbalā (680 A.D.) made the cleavage complete. From that date Islamic

[82] Browne (op. cit., pp. 189 f.) analyses the character of the Arabs and speaks of their "hard, clear, keen, but somewhat narrow intelligence, ever alert in its own domain......neither curious nor credulous in respect to immaterial and supersenseal things". He also refers to their "egotistical and self-reliant" nature.

[83] "Racial feeling greatly outweighed the religious sense" in the full-blooded Arabs (Browne, op. cit., p. 264).

[84] See particularly Chapter VII in the first volume of Browne's *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 251-278), especially the long list of writers, headed by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', given at the end.

[85] Op. cit., p. 217.

Iran starts on its own path and Iranian genius blossoms forth in new ways to enrich Islamic thought and culture.

The removal of the capital to Damascus by the Omayyads made the task of consolidating the Shī'a faction easier. The movement in favour of the house of 'Abbās had the complete approval of Iran and it was principally with Iranian help that the 'Abbāsīs were installed at Baghdād. This new centre was very close to Madā' in (Ctesiphon) and hence it also had a sort of glory reflected from the glorious past of Iran. With the 'Abbāsīs began "the Golden Age of Islam" in which Iran came back into her rightful heritage in the world of letters and culture. It was the preponderant Iranian influence at Baghdād that ushered in the era of toleration and freedom of belief. This era "reached its culminating point in the splendid reign of al-Ma'mūn whose mother and wife were both Persians and whose ministers, favourites and personal characteristics were Persian also".[86] Appropriately this culminating period of "the Golden Age of Islam" was also the period when the most important works of Zoroastrianism were produced in the Pahlavi language. The *Denkart,* the *Būndahishn* and other works of their group were composed at this time.

This wonderful outburst of literary and philosophical activity really represents the Spirit of Iran freed from Arab domination. The real inspiration during his period came from the Mu'tazila school of thought whose leading idea "is best characterised as the enduring protest if sound human understanding against the tyrannical demands which the orthodox teaching imposed upon it".[87] Man was born free to choose his own path, such was the teaching of the great Zarathushtra himself, and after him of all the teachers of Iran, even of the revolutionary Mazdak. It is a very significant fact that the various heresies that arose in Islam during the early days of the 'Abbāsīs invariably invoked Zarathushtra and Mazdak (a most curious combination) as the founts of their inspiraion.[88]

The Sufi teachings formed another notable direction in which the Iranian genius sought to fulfil itself. These are characterised by a boldness of thought and aspiration which can only be possible under conditions of perfect liberty of thought. This way of mystic love and devotion is the common property of all religions. Indeed this mystic yearning for the Beloved is ingrained in human nature itself and hence we find mystics in every age

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[86] Browne, op. cit., p. 255.

[87] Quoted by Browne (op. cit., p. 281) from Steiner's *Mu'tazaliten*. The whole of Browne's Account of the Mu'tazila school of thought (pp. 281-289) is extremely suggestive.

[88] The other and "more definite name" for the Mu'tazila was Qadariyya, which referred to their doctrine of human free-will. To explain the existence of Evil they set up "a second Principle, the Will of Man against the Will of God" (Browne, op. cit., p. 282). Browne also quotes (loc. cit.) a couplet from Shabistarī:

"Everyman whose faith is other than predestinarian
Is, according to the Prophet, even as a guebre",

which clearly indicates the source from which the doctrine of human Free-will was derived.

and in every religion. We have lost almost completely the writings of the ancient Iranian (Zoroastrian) mystic. But even in the Gāthās we see hints of this mystic Path of Love (the Path of Bhakti). The "Holy Immortal" Vohu-Mano represents this idea in the Gāthās.

Browne has given a very admirable chapter on the origin of the Sufi movement in Iran.[89] There he discusses four theories advanced about the origin of these ideas: i that Sufi mysticism really represents the Esoteric Teaching of the Prophet; *ii.* that it represents the reaction of the Aryan mind against the Semitic religion imposed upon it; *iii.* that it had ts roots n Neo-Platonism and other ideas imported from outside Iran; and *iv.* that it was of independent origin. Browne himself inclines to the third view, but he favours Neo-Platonism to the exclusion of all other foreign influences.

In considering the deepest yearnings of the human heart it would be unwise to think in watertight compartments as learned theorists would suggest. It is quite possible that all the four alternatives enumerated by Browne had been working jointly in the blossoming forth of Sūfī doctrines in Iran. That the Prophet of Islam had an nner Esoteric doctrine, revealed to a few chosen souls, need not be doubted, especially as the Sufis themselves have always held this view. We see also that these ideas began to appear in Iran definitely as a reaction against the narrow Arab ideas of the Message of the Qor'ān which strove to stick to the letter rather than the spirit. This certainly represents the reaction of the liberal Aryan spirit against Semetic dogma. We also know how in the days of Noshīrwān, his enlightened policy invited to Iran the Neo-Platonists from Greece as also the Pandits from India.[90] A careful study of Sūfī teaching reveals striking similarities with both the Greek and the Indian doctrines. And there is also a considerable lot which can be taken as the continuation of Zoroastrian teaching. The words are certainly different but the teaching is undoubtedly the same. To take but one example, the Sūfī explanation of the Nature of Evil is almost the same of Zarathushtra. " 'I was a Hidden Treasure,' God is described by the Sufi as saying to David, 'and I wished to be known, so I created creation that I might be known'. Now a thing can only be known through its opposite—Light by Darkness, Good by Evil, Health by Sickness, and so on; hence Being could only reveal itself through not-Being, and through the product of this admixture (to use a not very accurate expression), namely, the phenomenal world. Thus Eternal Beauty manifests, as it were, by a sort of self-negation ; and what we call "Evil" is a necessary consequence of this manifestation, so that the Mystery of Evil is really identical with the Mystery of Creation, and inseparable therefrom. But evil must not be regarded as a separate and independent entity: just as Darkness is the mere negation of Light, so Evil is merely the Not-Good, or in other words

[89] Browne, op. cit., pp. 416-444.

[90] Browne dimisses summarily the idea of the influence of Indian thought. But with all due respect to my revered teacher I must assert that his acquaintance with Indian philosophy and Indian mysticism was almost negligible.

the Non-Existent."[91] This is exactdly what Zarathushtra taught when he said that the Twin Spirits created Life and Not-Life, so that Creation's purpose be fulfilled.[92]

We need not proceed further with our discussion of Iranian thought. We have tried to show that through all the centuries of recorded history (and through the centuries of unrecorded history also) Iranian thought has been continuous and unbroken. From the days of the Achaemenians upto tht Arab Conquest the Religion of Zarathushtra was the main fount of inspiration. After that the inspiration came through the Prophet of Allah, and though the outer forms and the nomenclature changed, the essential continuity of Iranian thought has never been broken. This is because of one fact which we ought never to forget, viz. that both Zoroastrianism and Islam are Messages to mankind from the One Father of us all.

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[91] The same idea is to be noted in the Sanskrit words *Sat* and *A-sat*. The quotation is from Browne, op. cit., p. 440.

[92] Mrs. Henry Corbin has made an attempt to show from the philosophy of Sahrawardī (Shaykh'al-Ishrāq) that the Zoroastrian motif is quite clear in the writings of this Sufī writer who lived during the latter half of the 12th century of Christ. The whole teaching of this Sufī may be summed up in two lines.

دین ما عشقی و قبلۂ ما عشق بود
هر که را قبله و عشق نبود بهدین است

(Lens motifs Zoroastrian dans la philosophie de Sahrawardi, par Henri Corbin (1946), Teheran).

MAHMUD GĀWĀN AND HIS BOOK MANĀZIR-UL-INSHA

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KHAWĀJA Mahmud bin Shaikh Muhammed Gilānī well known as Mahmud Gāwān, the illustrious Persian of noble, perhaps of royal,[1] extraction, who came to India in 856 A.H. or 1453 A.D. and was shortly afterwards received with honour and given a Mansab by the Bahmanid Sultān, Alāuddin II, (1436-58) whose son and successor, Humāyun (1458 64) appointed him Minister and Governor of Bijāpur and conferred on him the title of Malik-ul-Tujjār,[2] became Jumlat-ul-mulk or Prime Minister under Nizāmuddin Ahmed II (1461-63) and Muhammed II (1463-82). Known also as Khawāja-i-Jahān, a title given by Muhammed, Mahmud Gāwān served the state with loyalty and distinction for about a quarter of a century and proved to be the best guardian of the Bahmanid Kingdom. His unjust and unwise execution by the order of the ungrateful drunken Sultan, Muhammed II[3] in 886 or 1481, at the age of 78, let loose the disruptive tendencies which ultimately ruined the Sultanate of the Deccan. The admirable Wazir-i-kul and Wakil-i-Sultanat of the Bahmanid was quite unlike the high placed nobles of his age and country in his personal character, outlook on life, and many sided accomplishments.[4] He was a man of remarkable attainments who shone at his best in spheres more than one. As a man he was of genial and charitable disposition[5] and his private life was extremely simple and almost free

[1] Brigg's Ferishta. We are told that Gāwān's ancestors held the office of the Wazirs of the Kings of Gilan and one of them actually was the ruler of Resht. But Gāwān himself writes in Reyāz:

در عالم صور و مواد چهرهٔ احوال زالد و اجداد بنقط و خال وزارت سلاطین عالي نژاد موسوم بود

[2] This was one of the highest titles which had been given to some of the predecessors of Gāwān, but it is by this title that Gāwān was best known to his outside admirers, including Jāmī.

[3] Having received his early training and education under the Great Persian Scholar-Statesman, Muhammed had become one of the most accomplished prince and might, with the assistance of Gāwān, have become the greatest of his house, had not excessive drink ruined him and made him kill his own teacher-benefactor.

[4] His own letters in Reyāz to his sons and other officials and members of the royal order which will be treated in a separate paper throw a flood of light on his ideas and attitude and about the key to the success in life of a man well above the average.

[5] Almost the whole of this introduction is based on Ferishta's history and on the information culled from **Reyāz-ul-Inshā**.

from defects. He stood for moral purity and had an astonishing lack of personal ambition, love of wealth, false sense of pride and selfishness. He devoted most of his income to charity which he lavishly distributed among the poor and the needy, pious and scholarly people both inside and outside India. Even when he was in the heyday of his power and dignity, he is said to have put on an ordinary garb, almost that of a Dervish, slept on a mat, and none but the earthen vessels were employed in cooking his simple food. His wars and campaigns against the Rajahs of Konkon, Orissa and Vijayanagar which extended the Kingdom from sea to sea (Goa to Rajmundry) and from Southern Berar (Mahur) to Rāichur Doab and which made him once march through the territory of Vijayanagar as far as Kānchi or modern Conjevaram, and his negotiations and alliances against the aggressive designs of the powerful and ambitious Sultan, Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, testify to his abilities as a general and as a diplomat. His excellent rules and regulations and much needed measures of reforms, the new revenue system, on the lines adopted later by Todar Mal and Malik Ambar,[6] and his intended or actual reforms of finances, army, justice and education reveal his greatness as a constructive statesman and administrator.

But it is as a man of extensive and varied learning, as the master of Arabic and Persian languages and literatures, and as a writer of both prose and verse that he was best known to his contemporaries and his reputation had travelled beyond the borders of India, and he has some claims for remembrance on the posterity. A great scholar himself, he was fond of the society of, and frequently in correspondence with, some of the most learned and pious saints of his age including such celebrities as Maulana Nuruddin Jāmi,[7] Khawāja Jalāl-ul-din Dawwāni,[8] Khawāja Obaidullāh Ahrār.[9] He had a taste for, was perhaps well-versed in, speculative, factual, mathematical and medicinal sciences and was also a good calligraphist.[10] It is, however, in the sphere of epistolography that he had few equals in his age. Despite his preoccupation with wars and politics, government and administration, he found and spared time for his literary pursuits and scientific studies and

[6] The great Abyssinian minister of Murtaza II (1600-31) and the real ruler of Ahmadnagar whose reorganisation of the administration and other reforms, particularly the revenue system, based on the principles, similar to those of Todar Mal's settlement of Gujrat in 1574-75, proved so beneficial to the state. These principles—survey and measurement, assessment and cash-payments—had already been introduced in the Deccan by Gāwān, the great minister of the Bahmanids.

[7] The renowned author and mystic poet of Persia (b. 718 ; d. 898) who wrote many letters to Gāwān and eulogised him in his Persian and Arabic verses. See Inshā-i-Jāmī (o. P.L.ms).

[8] The great philosopher, who flourished in the reign of Abu Sayeed, wrote many books, and died in 908 = 1502.

[9] The celebrated Nakshbandi saint and a learned man of Khorāsān who was the spiritual guide of Jāmī and died in 896 or 1491.

[10] Ferishta.

for collecting and utilising the large number of valuable books of his library which is said to have comprised 3000 volumes. He had built a mosque and founded a magnificent college housed in a three-storied building erected by himself at Bidār, the Bahmanid capital. His Diwān or collection of poems is unfortunately no longer extant and one has to remain content with what one gets of his verses and poems[11] which are found interspersed in his two prose-works, Reyāz-ul-Insha[12] and Manāzir-ul-Insha, which have come down to us. They are standing proofs of his profound knowledge, intellectual brilliancy, and amazing command in both Arabic and Persian languages.

The notices of both Reyāz and Manāzir in the catalogues of European libraries[13], though naturally brief, give us some idea of their contents, nature and importance. The former is much more voluminous, earlier in date, and of greater importance to a student of history. But the Manāzir, which is a treatise on the art of diction, and may have been composed almost at the end of his career[14] has an importance and value of its own, for the author has discussed in details and formulated therein the principles which he always kept before himself in his epistolary correspondence and other literary compositions. His style is not simple and unadorned but florid and ornate and apparently difficult and highly allusive and it is overlaid with similies and metaphors and abounds in word plays and rhetorical embellishments. He is very fond of rhymed prose. There is a considerable admixture of Arabic and Persian prose and poetry, and both his books are full of historical and literary allusions, illustrative quotations and references A modern critic may dub such a style as laboured and artificial, conventional and fanciful; but a more careful and penetrating study will enable one to account for and appreciate the forceful and meaningful nature of Gāwān's diction. Such a style was in vogue and highly valued in those and other times in the medieval period, and quite in keeping with the classical tastes. Despite the array of words and what may be taken as rhetorical extravagances one finds spontaneity, directness, flow and lucidity in the

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11 These include two Qasīdās in Reyāz, one in honour of Sultan Humāyūn, and other in praise of Sultan Muhammed.

12 A complete copy of this valuable work has been recently brought by the writer from his village home (Kujhwa, Dt. Saran).

13 Rieu and Ethé have also given other references but the present writer could get access only to Flügel's Vienna Catalogue.

14 It is difficult to fix the date for none is mentioned in the book. In two places in the *Manāzir* the author definitely mentions and refers to Reyāz:

اما نظاره ازهار تشبیه و استعاره از غصون اسالیب دوحة عبارت و جوئبار ارکان کتابت بمطالعه کتاب ریاض الانشا حواله است ـ از آنکه کتاب مزکور في الحقیقة آئینه جمال صور قواعد این رساله است (۱۳۰) و بعضي ازین صور جمیله در مرآة کتاب ریاض الانشا که تالیف این فقیر است میتوان دید و آن کتاب منشي-را در تعلم اختراع سخن و دانستن اسالیب حسن دستوریست باید که آنرا مطالعه کنند (۱۳۵)

writings of Mahmud Gāwān. A man of his status and stature, tastes and inclinations and knowledge and learning could not help casting his ideas and framing his discourses in an elegant and eloquent language. His words are not uncommon and outlandish and his meaning is not far-fetched and difficult to get at and it is easily and clearly conveyed to the readers. The form does not eclipse the substance. In short, Gāwān's style, though ornate and high-flown is not a merely tasteless and wasteful bombast but has a wealth of expression, grace and beauty which make his works eminently readable and interesting. His writings are more factual than the inflated and ornate writings of others.[15] Of this his letters in the Reyāz furnish a good example. Manāzir-ul-Insha is unique and deserves careful study and sympathetic appreciation not only because the rules and principles which, according to the author, should govern the literary composition and oratorical effusions have been elaborately dealt with in it, but also because it gives us a glimpse of the man behind the artist. Persons more competent than the present writer are expected to make a critical study of the interesting and valuable work which is still in manuscript, and for those who care for it, a fairly detailed table of contents has been given by Flugel in Vienna Catalogue. In the present paper an humble attempt has been made to give a general view of such of the contents of Manāzir-ul-Inshā as have had some special attraction for the writer. One may begin with the Preface which has not been taken much notice of anywhere.

The Ms in hand is old but undated, damaged and insect-eaten but complete and well-written by one, Amir Beg, and it was discovered among the rich collections of Shafā-ul-mulk, Hakim Syed Muzāhir Ahmad Sahib of Patna.[16] It contains 76 folios with 19 lines to a page. It opens with a few lines in Arabic containing the praises of God, His Prophet, Muhammad, and the latter's descendants and chosen companions. The qualifying words and expressions in the last lines are:—

وعلى آله الذين صيرت مودتهم لنا حرزا و صحبه الذين جعلت جهدهم في الدين لنا ولهم عزا - (١)

and elsewhere, particularly those on p. 117:—which occur

وعلي آله الذين كان كل احد منهم على صدق القول مجبولا و صحبه الذين اوفوا با العهد ان العهد كان مسئولا (١١٧)

at the commencement of the عهد نامه [17] addressed on behalf of Sultān Nizām-

[15] A careful perusal of the letters in the Reyāz is absolutely necessary for this.

[16] The writer has seen about 300 mss (actually 288), besides a large number of old but printed and now out of print books in this collection. The writer feels greatly indebted to the Hakim Saheb not only for lending one of his rare mss. but also for helping him in many ways

A very rare, virtually autograph 8th century ms. was the subject of a paper read by the writer at the last Lucknow session of the All-India Oriental Conference whose proceedings have not yet been published.

[17] This is an important contemporary document which may be noticed in a separate paper.

uddin Ahmad Shah of Deccan (1461-63) to Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (Baigara) of Gujrat (1458-1511) deserve more than a passing notice, in view of the difference of opinion expressed about the sectarian persuasion of the illustrious person.[18] There are other indications, but one need not press the point further.

The author's preface contains many other things which are well worth one's attention. He defines انشاء or diction as the science of elegant style, both written and oratorical and holds that it is one of the grand species of 12 sciences of polite learning. He says that its knowledge is the signal of the ring of literary attainments and the source-spring of the unified water of perfect discourse. He connects the creation and the phenomenal world, the superiority of man and the regulator of world affairs with کلام (Speech) and اقلام (Pens)

علم انشاي رسائل و خطب از جلائل اقسام اثنی عشر علم ادبست و معرفتش فص خاتم فضائل و ینبوع زلال مقال کامل زیرا که عنان ظهور افضلیت آدم و زمام نظام تمام عالم بدست شهوار کلام و کف کام ترجمان اقلام است چه یقین است که تکوین اشیا بلفظ کن است و انتهاي تمام مظاهر بسخن - سخن است اول اشیا و سخن آخر کار درمیان هر که خبر داشت تماشا میکرد -

After dilating further on the nature and importance of علم انشا and قواعد علوم ادبیه our author says that very few scholars in the past cared to lift up the veil off the face of this excellent science which includes both مخاطبات (speeches and addresses) and مکاتبات (Epistolary correspondence) and the rules and canons thereof were still shrouded in obscurity. If some seekers of knowledge could manage to be acquainted with the written and spoken words of the learned secretaries and eloquent speakers and come to know of something about the merits and defects of compositions and arrangements and thoughts they were to be taken as a drop in the ocean and a fruit of ripe dates from Basra.

کلل عرائس مخاطبات و حلل مخدرات مکاتبات بنقوش احکام آن موشي و درست قدرت افاضل ازمنهٔ سابقه نقاب حجاب از چهرهٔ مخدرهٔ این علم مستطاب بر نداشته است و غنچهاي ضوابطش بنسیم نفیس هیچکس منشقع نگشته و آفتاب کیفیت هویتش از فلک تالیف و برج تصنیف وضیع و شریف نتافته و اگر بعض طلاب از ترسلات کتاب و افواه افاضل بلیغ خطاب بر بعضی از مناقب ترکیب و معائب ترتیب مطلع گشته باشند از بحر قطره و از بصره تمره یافته اند زیرا که اکثر قواعدش در تتق پردهٔ خفا مختفي است و ارقام بیان آن از صفائح صحائف توالیف منتفی

[18] Ferishta says about Gāwān that "he was a rigid Sunni", but the present writer respectfully differs from him and from others who have followed him. Ferishta was himself perhaps a Shiah but posed as a Sunni for he flourished in the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm of Bijāpur who was bitterly opposed to the Shiah creed which had been established for the first time in Indian history as a state religion by his grandfather, Yusuf Adil Shah, a protége of Mahmud Gāwān and one who "in political ability, in learned accomplishments and skill and personal bravery in the field had no equal, and was perhaps inferior to his great patron only."

After explaining the paucity of the travellers of the path of modes or moulds of discourses و بسبب این معنی صورت قدرت انشا از بصر بصیرت قطان کرهٔ ثري مکتتم است و سالکان مسالک اسالیب کلام بقدم معرفت ترتیب و تنظیم قام کم و چه کم - our author refers to مثل السائر the well-known work of Ibn-i-Athir[19] on the art of penmanship wherein the arguments regarding the superiority of a منشي secretary or scribe over a شاعر poet had been advanced. A منشي really worth the name[20] was few and far between while the poets were so numerous in every region or city. The former, unlike the latter, was generally in affluent circumstances, due to the need of his services felt by powerful rulers, and the sword of his phraseology was much more effective in fulfilling the aspirations of kings than the sword metal. The skirt of Prophet's perfection was free from the stain and dust of versification whereas the the condemnatory thorns about poets were manifest in the garden of the Qurān.[21] The contents of Heavenly Scriptures are in prose and not in verse

منشي حقيقي در هر اقليمي يكي يا دوئسيت يا مطلقا نيست و شاعري كه بگفتن شعر قادر باشد و وجوه مراتب شعر را بنظر درر رتبت ناظر در هر بلده و ناحيه وافر و متكاثر است - نهال بال شاعر از نكباي نكبت متواتر بالخاصيت متكسر است و چمن حال منشي از احتياج ملوك صاحب صولت بانصباب سحاب نعمت البته مخضر - حسام عبارت منشي كه مرصع بجواهر و زواهر كنايه و اقسام استعاره باشد درتحصيل جلائل مآرب ملوك چنان موثر است كه سواد كثرت كتائب نسزد ثورت (!) تاثيرش ظلام ذوائب مينمايد - و با وجود خم و پيچ سطور بلاغت مواكبش پيچها پيچ ضربهاي سيوف قواضب بعينه صورت مخراق لاعب دارد - اذيال كمال انبيا از غبار گفتن اشعار مبراست و خار مذمت شعرا در گلشن قران مجيد ظاهر و پيدا و تعليق مذمت بر مشتق كه دال است بر عليه مشتق منه كه آن شعر است نزد علما باهر و هويداست - در عبارت كتب آسماني وديعهٔ درج شريف نثر است و اين معني او را سبب كمال مباهات و فخر - و شك نيست كه بوسائل اين دلائل گوهر تاج قدر نثر رشك ذره بيضاي مهر و محسود جوهر شب چراغ بدر است

Despite all these, says our author, how could one, in an atmosphere which was so depressing, venture to think of composing any scientific work with rules and canons thereof for the spearhead of the banner of lack of discernment and knowledge had almost touched the highest point in the sky?

اما چگونه دل دائل بتاليف فني از علوم مائل شود - و در فضائي خاطر فاتر هوائي ضبط قواعد علمی ظاهر گردد كه محجوق رائت عدم تميز و درائت باوج سما ملاصق است

Our author laments the general apathy towards the precious commodities of learning:—

زيرا كه نه عرائس فضل را باطباع مردم رذل امتزاجي است و نه نفائس علمي را در تير بازار دهر دني رواجي - مثنوي :

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[19] Al Masal-as-Sāir fi Adab-il-Kātib wash- Shāir, a work on literary composition in prose and verse, with copious examples from the writings of the author and others by the sober and careful historian, Ibn Athir-al-Jarazi who died at Mosul in 606 or 1210.

[20] The 4th Manāzir of the 2nd Maqāma of this ms. is devoted to a description of the real Munshi, his various types and rules and conditions etc.

المنظر الرابع في بيان ماهيته المنشي و اقسامه و شرائطه

[21] It refers to a well-known sentence in the Qurān.

درین دهر خرد فرسای خونخوار * که جهل از وی عزیز است رهفر خوار
اگر [22] سحبان بود در ژندهٔ دلق * نگیرندش بوزن با قلی خلق

He has developed the point further by saying that the minds of men felt an aversion towards the fragments of Ibn-i-Yamin[23] and the odes of Abu Firās[24] and the soul-exhilarating beverages of Zaheer's[25] and Abu Tamām's[26] poems and discourses. The moon of Sābi's[27] prose and the sun of Mutanabbi's[28] poetry were hidden behind the eclipse of lack of discernment and understanding and hundred couplets from the collections of Kumaits'[29] poems were not acceptable even for one Misqal of olive. The ingenious similies and metaphors of Ibn Mutazz[30] and the rarities of Ibn-i-Hajjaj's[31] thoughts were not worth the price of the seasonings in a dish of curry. Tārikh-i-Yamini of Utbi[32] was to this set of dullard's mere Arabic gibberish. One who had contracted the disease of sour throat would take even pure wholesome water to be sour and saltish. The pleasant and easily digestible allusions of Kalila[33] (Dimna) and of Tārikh-i-Muzaffari[34] and the refined and

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[22] Sahbān-bin-Wā'il, an ancient Arabian orator and rhetorician.

[23] Amir Fakhruddin Mahmud, well-known as Ibn-i-Yamin, who died in 745 or 1944. His productions are lost except these Muqattaāt, much of which are philosophical, ethical and mystical in character.

[24] Abu Fāris-al-Hārith bin Said Hamdum, a poet of elegant taste who left a Diwān and died in 357 or 968.

[25] Apparently Dhahiruddin of Fāryāb, near Balkh, a highly esteemed poet who died at Tabriz about the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

[26] Abu Tammām Habib b. Aws b. Harith b. Qais of Damascus, the famous compiler of Hamāsā, who surpassed his contemporaries in the purity of his style and was the author of other works like Diwān etc. He died at Mosul in 231 or 845-46. See Ibn Khallequān.

[27] Hital ibn-al-Mahāsun b. Ibrāhim as Sābi was the father of Muhammad bin Hilal as Sābi, the great historian of the House of Buwaih of Persia who died in 1035 A.D. and was known as Gharas an Nima (Ibn Khallequān).

[28] Abu Tayyab Ahmad bin Husain-al Mutanabbi was a great Arabian poet who was born at Kufa in 915 A.D. and was killed in 965 A.D.

[29] Al-Kumait bin Zaid who died in 126 A.H. is well-known for his Qasida الها شميه Mom W, in praise of Banu Hāshim.

[30] Abdullah b. al-Mutazz b. Caliph Mutawakkli b. Muatasam b. Mamun. His superiority and pre-cociousness as a poet was testified to by Al Mutanabbi. He composed many works including كتاب البديع, a treatise on the beauties of style. He was strangled to death in 295 or 908.

[31] Abu Abdullah-il-Hussain b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Jafar b. al Hajjaj, a well-known poet of Arabia with elegant and easy flowing verses ; died in 391 or 1001.

[32] Abu Naser-at-Utbi, the historian of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, whose book, in Arabic, carried down to 1018, was translated about 1205-10 by Al Jurbadhaqani. He lived till 1035-36.

[33] The world famed book—the Fable of Bidpa of Indian origin which has many versions. The Arabic version of Ibn-al-Muqaffa (750 A.D.) was based on the Pahlavi version of the 6th Century A.D. The versified Persian version of Rudaki is almost lost. Other well known Persian versions are those by Abul Maali Nasrullah and Mulla Husain Waidh Kashifi, the author of Anwar-i-Suhaili (popularised version of Kalila).

[34] Also called *Mawāhib-i-Ilāhī* history of Muzaffari dynasty from its origin to 767 by Muin ul Yazdi (d. 789) and described as a model of elegant style.

elegant metaphors of Wassāf[35] and of Tārikh-i-Tamri[36] (Timuri) were in the estimation of these people whose ignorance was their capital, useless tales and unprofitable discourses: —

خاطر اناس از مقطعات ابن یمین و قصائد ابو فراس و شربت جام طبع ظهیر و مدام کلام ابو تمام متنفر است و بدر نثر صابی و مهر شعر متنبی در خسوف و کسوف عدم ادراک مستتر و صد بیت از دیوان کمیت در بهاي یک مثقال زیت غیر مقبول - و تشبیهات خاص ابن معتز و نوادر خاطر ابن حجاج در شرائ توابل سکباج غیر مامول - و تاریخ یمینی که تالیف عتبی است نزد این فرقه غبی از فشارات عربی شعر: و من یک ذا فم مر مریض * یجد مرا به الماء الزلالا - و عبارات مستعذب کایله و تاریخ مظفری و استعارات مستهذب وصاف و تاریخ تمري نزد جماعة جهل بضاعت سمری بی حاصل و کلام لا طائل -

While brooding over such a lamentable state of affairs and bewailing his nominal fellowship with such a set of ignorant people as were unable to distinguish between virtue and merits and vices and faults of writers, our author seemed to hear the voice of the Invisible Inspirer urging upon him the necessity of dissociating himself from those who lacked penetration and acuteness of intelligence and were saturated with the dust of ignorance so that his name should not, in times to come, be soiled with such a dust. Even though the multifarious nature of his engagements and his manifold ideas and anxieties could afford him little opportunity to elucidate subtle and scientific subjects and examine and investigate abstruse matters of formal science, he should, nevertheless, compile a book on the art of diction revealing therein all the rules and canons, if not for anything else, at least for the sake of removing the false imputation arising from a common appellation

اما ندای ملهم غیب که مجرا از مظنهٔ عروض مین و ریب است بگوش هوش رسید که چون عمامه علامه عدیم زکا بر هامه طباع عامه شرکا مکفوف است و غبار عار جهالت بر صفحهٔ چهرهٔ هویت هان مشوف - سعی کن که ذیل اسم رسمت در ازمنه آتیه از گرد گمان جهل محروس مانده و آفتاب امتیاز از افق مقالت محسوس - و اگر از تکاثر اشغال و توافر فکر و خیال مجال اشتغال به توضیح دقائق علمی و تنقیح غوامض علوم رسمی نباشد - ضرورة جهت تلافی توهم کاذب که از اشتراک اسمی ناشی است رساله در علم انشا که قواعد و ضوابط آنرا افشا کند مدون سازد - و مخدرات خاطر مکسور که در پس پردهٔ موانع مستورند بر منصه ظهور بنماي -

Thus inspired our author took up the task of writing Manāzir-ul-Insha

بنا بر این مقدمات صدق ازدواج صحیح النتائج صهبای استعداد در دن فواد به غلغل آمد و بلبل جان در قفس جشمان (جسمان ؟) بنیاد قلقل نهاد - تا بر سبیل ایجاب بتالیف این کتاب که مسمی به مناظرالانشا است شروع نمود-

Here he explains why he has mixed up prose with poetry which are closely inter-linked and the approbation of one depends on its close connection with the other

[35] The well-known historian and panegyrist of the Mongols was Abdullah bin Fazlullah of Shiraz. Tārikh-i-Wassāf is a notable example of the florid inflated style of composition.

[36] Apparently Zafarnāma of Maulana Sharafuddin al yazdi who died in 858/1454. He was greatly admired by Mahmud Gāwān. See the letter in Reyāz.

و چون درر غرر شعر که زادهٔ [37]صدف صدر و پروردهٔ فکر است زیور نو عروس نثر و آرائش
مخدرهٔ معنی بکر بود و انتاج قرةالعین قبول و استحسان بازدواج نثر جزیل و نظم جمیل موقوف
می نمود - لاجرم این رساله را با حوالي كه بعضی ازاں بينهما مشترک است و بعض مخصوص
بیک ترتیب داده آمد -

As the book was written mainly for the use of students[37] care was taken to make the sense clear and manifest.[38]

و چون سهولت استفادهٔ طالبان مطلوب خاطر بود در کتاب توضیح عبارت کتاب اهتمام وافر نمود -

As it had been ordained by fate and Divine Decree that he should remain engaged from the first hours of the day till midnight in devising plans for the subjugation of the enemy's country and for the regulation and administration of Islamic regions and dominions and the co-ordination of all important transactions relating thereto, he craved the indulgence of the intellectual readers for his mistakes and shortcomings. In the end he prayed to God that his humble present might be acceptable to learned and the scholarly people and prove beneficial for others

و باقتضای دیوان قدر و قضا از اول روز تا نصف شب بتدابیر تسخیر دار الحرب و ضبط ممالک و مسالک
اسلام و ربط ما یتعلق به من المهام مشغول بود - بنا برین مترقب و ملتمس از خاطر اقدس مالکان
ممالک فکر و حدس آن است که خط خطا و سهو را بدست عفو و اغماض محو ساخته جمال وجوه توجیه را
بنظر ضمیر پذیره منظور دارند - چه کثرت اشتغال بامور مذکور و تعلق خاطر بتطبیب خواطر جمهور
عذری واقع و امری شایع است و از حضرت وهاب کل مامول بلسان خاضع و جنان خاشع مسئول است
که تحفهٔ لحقیر این فقیر را در نظر اهل فضل مقبول دارد و رستهٔ گلزار گفتار این کتاب را از خزان اعتراض
خوش طبعان محفوظ گرداند و ذائقهٔ طبائع سلیمه و اذهان مستقیمه را از مائدهٔ فائدهٔ اش محفوظ -

[37] This passage is specially illustrative of the style of our author.

[38] The Arabic passages have been rendered by the author himself in decidedly understandable Persian.

IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON MEDIEVAL INDIAN MYSTICS

By

Mohan Singh, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

I

I begin with two general statements. Mysticism both as ***Union*** (***yoga***) with God and as Self-knowledge (*Prajña*) or self-purification تزکیه or تصفیه, that is, viewed from the standpoint of the attainment of the Goal or of acquisition of the Means, which means also called the Way, the Path, is itself the Goal—vide Prajña in Vedic and later Buddhistic mysticism, and Dharma, Gati, Magga in early Buddhism—is of universal validity and prevalence and has nothing to do with the Form and even the Philosophy of Religion. Wherefore in the field of God-Realisation or Self-Discovery (Khudā Shināsī and khud-Shināsī),[1] there is no such thing as foreign influence. God or The Path is everywhere; every Path leads to Him; and it is the Path, the Goal—, that draws the Path-Finder, the Goer and also provides him with the feet, the heart, the direction, the sustenance.

Second, God-Realisation is contemporary with Man. And from self-knowers light has issued far and wide and travelled to all corners, unobserved but not unfelt. In my researches into the Legend of Prahlāda and The First Battles among the Asuras and the Devas in the West, published elsewhere, I have shown that at one time Iranian Imperial bounds included Multan in the West Panjab. It was the pre-"Vedic" age ; you may say it was *Sat* or *Krita* Yuga. The particular king occurring in the story, Hiranyakasipu, father of the mystic, Prahlāda, referred to in one of the oldest Upanishads, and the brother of Hiranyaksha, was an Iranian. I cannot say about the nationality of the other pre-classical mystic Dhruva. But there is no doubt that these two mystics are the oldest in Indian history and a poet in the Sikh sacred book—anthology—Adi Granth, says: O heart, recite the name of God in the manner in which Dhruva and Prahlāda recited it.

II

In my book Gorakhnath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism I have mentioned the presence of several Iranian words in the mystic songs of Gorakh, the father of medieval Indian mysticism, the founder of ***Kanphata Yogis***, the first populariser of Yoga, and the champion of Yoga among India's Muslim

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1 من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

borderlands and among the Buddhist population in India itself. One of Gorakh's brother mystics or followers, Ratan Nāth, popularly called Hājī Ratan Baba, took the message of Nāth Yoga to Ghaznī, Jalalabad and Qandahar. He is also stated to have gone to Iraq and Iran. I placed Gorakh in the 11th and 12th centuries and also concluded that Hājī Ratan Baba died in the 13th century.

These yogis of the *Nāth* order met the Muslim mystics, had arguments and miraculous tussles with them and proved instrumental in the exchange of truths. References to these yogis are to be found in the *Malfūzāt* (recorded sayings) of Khwāja Mas'ūd Farīd-ud-Dīn, Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliyā, and Chishtī Ajmerī. Two or three most intriguing things connected with the Nāth yogis, indicative of some Iranian influence, are as follows. Gorakh's *yogi* order was the first to admit not only the untouchables and the artisans, but also the Muslims. The order itself was not called a Sangha, but a Jamā'at جماعت The order had a Nishān نشان or a standard. Its congregational hymnody was called Rāh-i-Rāst راہ راست . Some Iranian or Iraqi followers received special instruction and that was versified in the form of questions and answers. The work was called Ismā'īl Bodh إسمعيل بوده . The Head Nāth of a monastery was called a Pīr (پير).

As a result of the extensive travels of *Nāth* yogis, the particular brand and blend of mysticism they preached became familiar in all parts of India and all the Indian mystics of the subsequent centuries particularly from the 14th to the 17th—like Nāmdeva, Kabīr, Ravidās, Nānak, Dādū, Sundardās—show a thorough grasp of Nāth yoga. And, what is of concern to us here is, all of them also show an equally thorough assimilation of Iranian mysticism, not only in disproportionately large Persian vocabulary mixed with Hindavi but in abundant and recurring Persian mystic doctrinal references.

III

I take up Nāmdeva, a calico-printer born in Bombay Presidency, Maharastra area, and Ravidās, a skinner and cobbler, born in Banaras. Both of them were more or less contemporaries and flourished in the 15th century, which also saw the birth near Lahore of Nānak, the founder of Sikhism. Those who are seriously interested in a comparative study of Islamic mysticism and medieval Hindu mysticism would do well to read this article along with the excellent article on the Ṣūfī movement in India, by Dr. M. E. Haq, M.A., Ph.D., which appeared in *Indo-Iranica,* January, 1949. It will be noticed that he rightly refers to Yogism and Nāthism.

The texts which I studied for this article are taken from the Ādi Granth, completed in 1605-6 A.D. at Lahore, and an eighteenth century anthology, only one copy of which exists, and is in my collection. My first task is to give

a list of Persian words picked from some portion of the writings of these two Hindavi poet-mystics of the 15th century. These I give as they occur and not in the alphabetical order, which really is more desirable.

Ravidas

بیغم پور - اندوہ - تشویش - خراج -
مال - خوف - خطا - ترس - زوال - خرب -
وطن گد - خیر - قائم - دائم - پادشاهی - دوم -
سیوم - آبادان - مشهور - غنی - معمور -
محرم - سیر - محل - خلاص - هم شهری -
شاه - درد - پل صراط - دردمند - در - جواب -
رزق - بندگی - دیوانه - دنیا - فن خانه -
عید - بقرعید - شیخ - شهید - پیر -
بازی - بازی گر - هوشیار - صراحی - پیاله -
دریا - غلطان - حیران - مجلس - المست -
دیوانه - خماری - می - خرچ - دربار -
حلوفه (علوفه) -
دیوان - صاحب - غریب - غلام - بنده -

Nāmdeva

خود کار - دریا - دهنده - بسیار - دگر - یک -
دانا - بینا - بخشنده - یار - خوش خبری -
اعلے - کجا آمد - کجا رفتی - کجا می
روی - راسن (راست) بگوئی - مغول -
چندین - هزار عالم - خانه - هم چنین -
پادشاه - میر - کاغذ - سلطان - بسمل - گردن -
خدا - قاضی - ملا - سلام - دوزخ - دین -
دنیا - محل - فرمود - بخشیدن -
قلندر - ابدالی - کلاه - قوس - (چمر)
پوش - اجاره - صحنک - مسجد - مولانا -
نماز - گذاردن - شرق - بی بی -
حکم -
خصم -
بازی - بازی گر - دعوی - چادر - جهاز -

There are other poems of both these saints which I am unable to tap here.

A close scrutiny of the words provides several important clues.

1. God as the Dispenser of strict justice according to the law of *Karma*, receded into the background. He now was conceived as more Absolute, as One who by His Grace could write off any number of sins of His devotees.

2. Foreign were the conceptions of قلندری و مستی و رندی و عفو and دیوانگی to the Indian mystic. He was a solitaire, a recluse, an ascetic. He had never talked of the *wine* of self-forgetfulness, the abandon and madness of union, وصل with the Lord.

3. *Vedānta* was snatched out of the hands of schoolmen and doctors and professional preceptors—all Brahmanas or Kshatriyas. Now a cobbler, a weaver, a washerman could dance in the streets shouting at the top of his voice, I am *Govinda*, You are *Govinda*, everything is *Govinda*.

4. Idols went out of fashion and with them articles of worship.

Emphasis shifted to mental devotion such as a lover long separated practises in respect of his love, and to silent recitation of the qualitative and personal names of the Lord, like unto the epithets with which the mad human lover ceaselessly remembers his flint-hearted and yet compassionate beauty.

5. The general attitude towards the world and towards the things and

ties of the world underwent a radical change. In an age of political slavery and social bondage, the Indian mystic, partly under inspiration from the Iranian mystic, made a bid for complete freedom. He wanted to be a *free* seeker after God, a *free* lover of the Divine Ineffable Beauty. He would throw overboard logic and philosophy, custom and tradition, law and ritual. Free in word and deed would he be, roaming at will inside the temple and the mosque, bowing or not bowing to the idol, dancing and singing alone or in company, using any vocabulary, and altogether contacting his Lord at any level and at all levels, refusing to consider any contradictions and inconsistencies in which he may get himself involved. God was the highest and fullest freedom and those who sought Him, abided with Him, loved and adored Him, would brook no inhibitions and prohibitions. They would accept Him as the resolver of all antinomies of ذات and صفات, نفي and اثبات, دنیا and عقبی, نیک and بد, جبر and رحم Similarly they, as His lovers, would like to be accepted as good with all their inconsistencies manifest in زهد and رندی.

6. A sense of humility came in, replacing the arrogance associated till then with possession of knowledge. The greater his God-realisation and Self-discovery, the greater the mystic's humility in respect of himself and compassion in relation to others.

I maintain that these six features manifest among the medieval Hindu mystics derive, at least in part, from contacts with Iranian صوفیه and تصوف.

IV

Let the two Indian mystics speak for themselves. Had these notes, I ask, been heard before in Indian classical mystics? Do not the Iranian and Iraqi mystics of the centuries before the 15th sound them again and again?

Ravidas sings thus:

I have drunk the elixir of the name of God. Immortal have I become thereby. Aeon after aeon shall I enjoy.

Compassion was the goblet (صراحی). The Esse was the cup (پیاله). Fearlessness was the wine. One-pointedness (single-mindedness) was the wine-seller (کلال) And I drank not in sips but in river-long (دریا) draughts.

My mind got intoxicated ; my desire became mad ; my consciousness was filled full with a sense of wonder and amazement (حیران) . As I went on drinking, I forgot myself. The drink-server got tired.

The five, the twenty-five, the three, and the four in me fell down unconscious right in the hall.

I rose to the state of non-Mindedness; I grew المست and دیوانه mad.

Ravidas has lost all count of his home and its doors. He has only one desire, of growing still more mad. He will not give up drinking ; his intoxication will never diminish.

There is a Divine City called بےغم‌پور the City of Delight. Neither pain nor worry is there.

Its citizens have to pay no taxes in cash or kind. They entertain no fears. They err not, and so are not subject to punishment.

That city is my home now. How happy I am!

The king of that city is دائم and قائم Eternal and Changeless. He is ever the First, has had no predecessors nor will He have successors.

Ever full is that city with contented, nay, rich, desireless people. They move about freely. No guards keep them off the Royal Palace.

Ravidas, the free cobbler, says: Every fellow-citizen is a friend of mine.

And thus Nāmdeva:

I am blind and Thy Name, O Lord, is my sole support. I am new and poor (غریب and مسکین). Thy Name is my wealth, my pride. Thou art کریم, رحیم, الله and غني . Omnipresent (حاضر حضور) art Thou and ever in Thy presence I feel myself to be. The River of Grace art Thou. the Great Dispenser, the Wealthiest One. There is none but Thee. Thou art the All-Seer, All-Wise (دانا and بینا) Thou art the Master, the Forgiver of Sins (بخشنده).

O Thou Lord of Dwarakā, Lord of millions of universes (هزار عالم), Thou Divine *Moghul*, Thou Divine *Mir* and *Pādshāh*.

Welcome, O my *Qalandar* (قلندر), my *Keshava*; Thou comest disguised as an Abdāl (ابدال). The sky is Thy cap (کلاه); the seven earths make Thy wooden shoes............

My body is the mosque (مسجد), my mind is the *Maulānā* (مولانا), the priest. He performs the نماز of *Sahaja*.

The Eternal Lord of Energy has staged a wondrous drama: in every form He has concealed the Brahman. Who would have perceived the Light that hides behind all life? That light became manifest, perceivable (معلوم), by the appearance of Thee and me.

That One has become the become the many ;
Everywhere is He.
All this and that He fills.
Whichsoever side I turn, Him I behold.
A wondrous form is this *māyā*.
Everyone is taken in by Her.
Where is the one who pierces through Her veil?

All is *Govinda,* All is *Govinda.*

There is none beside *Govinda.*

As the one thread runs through seven hundred pearls,

So does He thread on Himself the myriad universes.

This عرصه Expanse is the Lilā (play) (بازي) of the *Para-Brahman.*

None plays it end to end but He Himself.

I was tied to the false, the fleeting, the illusional,

the dreamy, and them I treated

As True,

As Ever-Abiding.

The True Teacher came,

And roused He my heart from its deep sleep of ignorance.

V

The most outstanding universal characteristic of the mystic is his emphasis on vital personal contact with a living teacher, Satguru or مرشد, who replaces the prophet or an Incarnation (Avatāra). The teacher's fresh word takes the place of the age-old, fixed revelation confined in books, which the mystic re-interprets for himself if and when he chooses to do so.

Several lines of the Holy Qu'rān are stringed in their verses by the Indian Ṣūfī poets, who read into them much more than the orthodox divines do. Similarly, several technical terms from all quarters, Vedic, Paurānic, Tāntric, Buddhistic, Vedāntic, Sānkhyaic, Vaishnavistic, are found to jostle with each other in the poems of medieval Hindu saints. All are treated as almost identical.

Frequent references to the *Sat-Guru* and *Murshid* prove that Divine guidance, essentially a matter and miracle of His Grace, is available at any and every time and in every place. The doors of revelation are ever open. When and as you deserve, you will be blessed with inspiring contacts with the Elect.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the Hindu mystic like his brother Iranian mystic took very large strides forward in the direction of freedom and joy and reconciliation and human brotherhood, and passed on that spirit of delight and compassion and unity and release to his less fortunate brethren through his simple, unsophisticated, vital and multi-coloured songs. Musicians everywhere avidly accepted these songs and in no time spread their message all over the land among all classes. It is strange that the search for God and beauty and truth should have been carried on at such a popular level with so little of ritual and ceremony and serious preparation.

The mystic recites His name in public ; the public listen and repeat ; and thus is created an atmosphere, in which from the word and the note, the spirit rises to the Divine Meaning and the Divine Symphony.

THE UNION OF THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CULTURE

By

H. K. Iranschähr.

IN 1932 I quoted in Berlin, in the preface of my writing: Rās-o-Niās, tales for children of the new generation, the following simile:

"East and West" resemble two children who are in one room. The western child, a boy, has collected round him a great many beautiful playthings and from many coloured little blocks and from cardboard he has built up a castle with high walls. He is so locked up in these walls that he cannot see the things existing and happening outside them.

The eastern child, a girl, dressed in rags, is sleeping in the other corner of the room and beside her is lying a wonderful master-violin.

A few hours later the western boy getting tired of his toys and his castle is beginning to feel bored.

All of a sudden, getting furious, flying into passion, he smashes everything he has just built up with great trouble and joy. With a loud crash the walls are falling down and the boy released from all his self-created obstacles, looks again at his surroundings with curious, inquiring eyes.

The great crash caused by the western child awakes the sleeping girl of the east, who with dreaming eyes, is searching through her surroundings.

Both children, wondering and motionless, are looking at each other for a long while.

Then the girl takes the master-violin and plays an enchanting melody which is deeply moving and affecting the western child.

Awaking from his spiritual sleep the western child feels delighted with this redeeming melody and realises, that there exists an art that is superior to the one consisting of spending his time with toys. He approaches the girl of the east, welcomes her with great reverence and shaking hands with her he begs her to contract comradeship.

In the meantime the first part of this simile has happened in the west. The western culture has already fallen into ruin and its heart is bleeding.

The second part, the awakening of the eastern child, will likewise take place soon. The celestial melody that the east will play on the heart-harp of humanity is the redeeming divine symphony of Wisdom and Harmony on which the new culture of humanity will be erected.

DER HEUTIGE VERLAUF DES NOWRUZFESTES BEIM IRANISCHEN VOLK

By

H. K. Iranschähr.

Heute feiert man das Neujahrsfest in Iran etwas anders als vor Jahrtausenden. Dennoch bleibt die Grundlage der Feier dieselbe, nämlich, sich mit der Natur und mit dem Kosmos in Verbindung zu setzen und seine Dankbarkeit der Erde und dem Himmel gegenüber in Freude zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Offiziell dauert das Fest drei Tage, aber in vielen Städten feiert das Volk sieben Tage und dennoch bewahren die offiziellen Organisationen und das Geschäftleben, trotz der grossen Lustbarkeiten, ihren normalen Gang. Neben den verschiedenen eigenartigen Bräuchen jeder Provinz, verläuft die Feier im allgemeinen wie folgt:

Schon drei Wochen vor dem Neujahr setzt man die Körner von verschiedenen Getreidearten und Hülsenfrüchten, vor allem von Weizen, Gerste und Linsen, ins Wasser, auf Tellern, in Vasen oder Schalen und deckt sie mit einem weissen, durchsichtigen Tuch zu. Nach einigen Tagen, wenn sie zu Keimen beginnen, nimmt man das Tuch weg.

Man beginnt auch einige Wochen vor dem Neujahar die Bazare und die Läden zu schmücken. Zwei Hauptzüge charakterisieren dieses Fest: Die Herstellung und der Verkauf von alten und neuen Spielzeugen für die kinder und die Ausstellung und der Ausverkauf aller Früchte, die von dem zu Ende gehenden Jahre übrig geblieben sind. Der letzte Mittwoch des Jahres ist besonders für diesen Zweck festgesetzt worden. Deshalb nennt man diese Früchte die Früchte des letzten Mittwoch.

Jede Familie kauft soviel sie nur kann von diesen Früchten, um sie zu geniessen oder zu verschenken, wie auch verschiedene, selbstgebackene oder gekaufte Süssigkeiten, Gebäck, Kuchen usw.

Die Kinder bekommen meistens ausser dem Spielzeug auch gekochte und gefärbte oder bemalte Eier und neue Kleider. Es ist selten, dass ein Mensch nichts schenkt oder kein Geschenk bekommt.

Am Festtage verrichten die Leute zu Hause oder in der Moschee das für diese Feier bestimmte Gebet und dann versammeln sich die Familienglieder und ihre Gäste, einige Minuten vor dem Eintritt der Sonne in das Tierkreiszeichen Widder, um den festlich geschmückten Tisch, auf dem, neben Früchten, Blumen und Gebäck, die hochgewachsenen Weizen, Gersten, Linsen usw. und die Körner von sieben Getreiden und Hülsenfrüchten liegen. In der Mitte des Tisches befindet sich in einer Schüssel mit Wasser ein Fisch. Dieser Fisch versinnbildlicht das zu Ende gehende Tierkrei-

szeichen Fische. Die Zeit des Uebergangs der Sonne in das Zeichen Widder, wird offiziell und in den Kalendern bekanntgegeben. Kurz vor diesem kosmischen Ereignis richten alle Anwesenden ihre Blicke auf den Fisch in der Schüssel, um aufzupassen, wann der Fisch im Wasser einige Sekunden ganz unbeweglich bleibt. Denn das ist das Zeichen, dass die Sonne das Tierkreiszeichen Fische verlassen hat. Dieser Augenblick wird in den grossen Städten des Landes offiziell durch einen Kanonenschuss bekannt gegeben.

Gleich nach diesem Vorgang tauschen die Anwesenden ihre Glückwünsche aus and jeder bekommt das für ihn bestimmte Geschenk und bringt seinen Dank freudig, mit liebevollen Worten zum Ausdruck. So feiert das Volk das Neujahrsfest, in Dankbarkeit und gegenseitiger Beschenkung und geht dem neuen Jahr mit neuer Schaffenskraft und voller Freude entgegen.

Wie ich in meinem Schreiben an UNESCO im Oktober 1948 vorgeschlagen habe, sollten alle Staaten und Völker den ersten Frühlingstag als internationalen Fest und Beschenkungstag annehmen und feiern. Dies würde zur Versöhnung der Völker, zur Verbrüderung der Menschen und zur Bewahrung des Weltfriendens beitragen.

Ein solches, von Gottes Weisheit gesegnetes und von Frieden, Licht und liebe durchstromtes Neujahr, wünsche ich von ganzem Herzen der gesamten Menschheit.

IRAN SOCIETY

THE NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Iran Society was held on Sunday, the 15th March, 1953 at 11 a.m. in the Hall of the Loreto Secondary School, 169, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13 under the Presidentship of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.

Besides many visitors, the following members were present:

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.
S. N. Modak, Esq. M.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S. (retd.).
Al-Hadj Khalil Adlkhah Esq.
D. R. Bilimoria Esq.
R. S. Patuck Esq., B.A. (Bombay & Cantab.).
M. A. Majid Esq. B.A. (Hons).
Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A.
Gholam Jeelani Baig Esq., M.A., B.L.
Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem, S.J.
Mohamed Hansa Esq.
Wajihuddin Ahmad Esq., M.A., F.M.
Dr. S. Jeelany, M.A.
Hira Lall Chopra, Esq., M.A.
Prof. M. F. R. Baqi.
Mohibbul Hasan Khan Esq., B.A. (Hons.) London.
Masood Hasan Esq., M.A., B.E.S.
Nasir Ali Khan Esq., M.A. (Alig.).
Prof. M. S. Khan, M.A. (Triple), B.E.S.
Khalilur Rahman Esq., M.A.
Dr. M. Ishaque B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

1. The President declared the Annual General Meeting open and votes (by ballot) for Office-bearers and Members of the Council for 1953-54 were recorded between 11 and 11-30 a.m. At 11-30 a.m. the President appointed Prof. Md. Saber Khan and Mr. M. A. Majid as Scrutineers.

2. The Secretary read the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 24th February, 1952.

Mr. R. S. Patuck proposed that the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 24th February, 1952, be confirmed.

Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud seconded the proposal.

The proposal was put to vote and carried unanimously.

3. The Secretary read the Annual Report and the Treasurer read the Audited Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1952.

Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem, S. J. proposed that the Annual Report and the Audited Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1952, be adopted.

Mr. Gholam Jeelani Baig seconded the proposal.

The proposal was put to vote and carried unanimously.

4. The President (Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S. J.) read his Presidential Address.

5. The Scrutineers Prof. Md. Saber Khan and Mr. M. A. Majid communicated the result of the voting to the President who declared the following Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1953-54 as elected:

President

Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D. Litt., F.R.A.S.B., F.R.A.S (Hony.)

Vice-Presidents

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S. J.
Mr. J. N. Talukdar, I.C.S.

Hony. Secretary

Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D. (London).

Hony. Treasurer

Aqa Al-Hadj Khalil Adlkhah.

Asst. Secretary

Mr. Mohamed Karim Khaleeli.

Other Members of the Council

Mr. S. N. Modak, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, I.C.S. (retd.)
Mr. M. H. Kashani.
Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem, S. J.
Mr. Martyrose Martin.
Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A.
Mr. D. R. Bilimoria.
Mr. R. S. Patuck.
Dr. Radha Kumud Mookherjee, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., P.R.S., F.R.A.S.B.
Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, B.A. (London).

6. The incoming President Dr. B. C. Law being absent, the outgoing President Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S. J. was garlanded amidst applause.

7. Mr. S. N. Modak thanked the outgoing President Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. for the valuable services rendered by him to the Society.

8. Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. thanked the Members of the Council and the Society for all the co-operation and help rendered to him in the work of the Society during his Presidentship.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated.

Extracts from the Annual Report, 1952

Obituary.

We are very sad to report that two of our Founder-Members Mr. D. H Mehta and Khan Sahib Maulvi Abdul Halim died during the year.

Changes in the Council.

Mr. D. R. Bilimoria resigned from the Membership of the Council and the Treasurership of the Society from the 1st May, 1952 as he had to leave for Bombay for eye treatment. Mr. Khalil Adlkhah was appointed Hony. Treasurer in place of Mr. D. R. Bilimoria with effect from 1st May, 1952. Mr. R. S. Patuck was elected a Member of the Council in place of Mr. D. R. Bilimoria on the 13th June, 1952.

Mr. Mohammed Karim Khaleeli was elected a Member of the Council on the 8th August, 1952 in place of the late Mr. D. H. Mehta.

Mr. D. R. Bilimoria was elected a Member of the Council in place of the late Khan Sahib Maulvi Abdul Halim on the 10th October, 1952.

Sectional Secretaries.

Under Section 24 of the Rules and Regulations, the Council at its meeting held on the 8th April, 1952 appointed Prof. Md. Saber Khan, Mr. M. A. Majid and Mr. Hira Lall Chopra as Sectional Secretaries for the Library, Public Lectures and Publicity respectively. This step was taken with a view to a better development of the Library, for having more lectures and a wider publicity of the activities of the Society.

Appointment of Assistants.

The Council at its meeting held on the 2nd May, 1952 appointed two part-time assistants, one for keeping accounts and the other for looking after the Library and Reading Room on a salary of Rs. 30/- and Rs. 40/- respectively per month. A part-time assistant was also appointed on a fixed remuneration of Rs. 300/- for cataloguing the books of the Library. Two more part-time assistants were appointed by the Council at its meeting held on the 3rd December, 1952 in the Editorial Section (English) at Rs. 75/- and (Persian) Rs. 60/- per month respectively.

Iran House.

On the 8th December, 1952 the President, Rev. Fr. Courtois, S.J. and the Secretary, Dr. M. Ishaque waited upon the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India with an appeal for a sum of Rs. 1,50,000/- towards the Building Fund of the Society.

As a temporary measure the Iran Society was removed from its old site to 102, Prinsep Street, Calcutta—13 on Friday, the 1st February, 1952.

The opening ceremony was performed in the midst of distinguished guests by Dr. Parimal Roy, Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal.

Donations.

We received Rs. 10,000/- in two instalments of Rs. 5,000/- each from the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India, through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi. The Government of India, through the I.C.C.R., also patronised the Society by purchasing 100 copies of 'Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume' for Rs. 4,000/-. Our benefactor Dr. B. C. Law donated Rs. 2,000/- towards the cost of printing and publishing this work. The Society expresses its gratitude to the donors for their financial help.

Presentations.

The Society received as present a large roller Remington Typewriter from Mr. Khalil Adlkhah. The late Khan Sahib Maulvi Abdul Halim presented a clock as his parting gift to the Society. We offer our grateful thanks to Mr. Adlkhah and pray that the soul of the late Mr. Halim may rest in peace.

Library.

The members of the Iran Society will be glad to know that the Society is now equipped with about 1,000 volumes of valuable books on various subjects mostly relating to Iran and Indo-Iranian studies. Four almirahs are full of books. Cataloguing of the books on modern lines is already in progress. During the year we received 20 books from Mrs. G. D. Captain and 6 books from Mr. A. A. B'utt, Secretary of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahai's of India, Pakistan and Burma at New Delhi. We offer our grateful thanks to Mrs. Captain and Mr. B'utt for their kind and valuable gifts.

Distinguished Visitors.

During the course of the year the Iran Society was honoured by the visits of three dignitaries from the Middle East—men who have ranked high in different walks of life and who take abiding interest in the cause taken up by the Society. They were Aqa A. A. Yekta, the Iranian Charge d'Affaires in India, Aqa S. M. Tabatabai, the Cultural Counsellor to the Iranian Embassy in New Delhi and Aqa Sarwar Goya I'timadi, an official in the Ministry of Education, Government of Afghanistan. They were all shown round the different sections of the Society and they evinced keen interest in what they had seen. They hoped that they could be of some assistance to the noble cause of the Society. The President and the members of the Council gave tea parties in their honour.

Public Lectures.

During the course of the year three public lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Society. The first one was delivered by Dr.

J. J. S. Taraporewala of Bombay on 'India and Iran' on Tuesday, the 15th January, 1952. The second one by Mr. Syed Hasan Barani, Secretary, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi on 'Al-Biruni's Scientific Achievements' on Monday, the 24th March, 1952 and the last one by Dr. J. J. Houben on 'Avicenna and Mysticism' on Friday, the 22nd August, 1952.

Al-Biruni Millenary Celebrations.

After putting in strenuous work for full five years it fell at last to the lot of the Iran Society to fittingly celebrate the Millenary of that famous man of letters and science of Iran—Al-Biruni, who held aloft the torch of knowledge in that dim past age through the many places he chanced to visit. The avowed objectives of the Iran Society being as they are, it could do no better than hold this celebration according to its own humble conception in honour of a man whom posterity will always remember with utmost gratitude for furthering the bounds of knowledge transcending the trammels and limitations set about by man. The celebrations were held on Sunday the 23rd March, 1952 in the spacious hall of the St. Xavier's College, Calcutta under the distinguished presidentship of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, and attended by more than 500 members and delegates drawn from various walks of life and belonging to different castes and creeds. It was a national and international gathering of cultured sections of this country and beyond its borders. All the ceremonies were gone through with due solemnity. The main function was preceded by a Press conference held by the President, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. to explain to the representatives of the press and news agencies the how and why of the celebrations. The function was opened with a Sanskrit hymn. The Secretary of the Society gave in a nutshell the history of the Society. Various addresses were delivered by the Governor of West Bengal, the President of the Society, the Cultural Counsellor of the Iranian Embassy in New Delhi, Sir Janunath Sarkar, the eminent historian, Dr. Kalidas Nag of international fame, Mr. Syed Hasan Barani and others. During a musical interlude Master Albert Khachanian of the Armenian College gave two songs in Persian accompanied on the Piano by Miss Alice Nadjarian. This was followed by a playlet "Al Biruni and the Pandit" staged by some boys and students of St. Xavier's College. The playlet depicted Al-Biruni's abiding interest in Indian affairs, particularly his great love for the Hindu lores and his engrossing talks with the local pundits trying to unravel the mysteries of life according to their conception. An interesting exhibition of rare collections, specially some specimens of 'Astrolabs' given on loan by the Archaeological Survey of India and the staff of the Iranian Embassy in India, was arranged for the enlightenment of the respectable gathering of the day. Some documentary films depicting the life in Iran also were shown to the audience. The proceedings were recorded by the Documentary Films Section of the Government of India and partly relayed over All India

Radio on the night of March 23rd. The function terminated with a subscription lunch.

Avicenna Millenary.

The Council at its meeting held on the 2nd May, 1952 resolved to celebrate the Millenary of Abu Ali Ibn Sina better known as Avicenna. He was born of Persian parents in A.D. 980 at Kharmaythan near Bukhara and died at Hamadan in A.D. 1037. He showed extraordinary talents in his youth. His system of philosophy which combines Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic theories with Persian mysticism, was well suited to the popular taste and it still reigns supreme in the East. He wrote about 100 books on different branches of science the chief being the *shifa* (remedy), on Physics, Metaphysics, etc. and a great medical encyclopaedia entitled the Qanun (Canon). We hope patrons and members of the Society and the public will co-operate with us in making the Millenary a success.

IRAN SOCIETY : CALCUTTA

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1952.

FUNDS.

		Rs. As. P.
Reserve Fund		6,913 13 0
Indo-Iranica Fund		5,240 5 9
Building Fund		10,893 1 9
Dr. B. C. Law's:—		
Publication Fund	4,903 13 0	
Portrait Fund	465 6 0	5,369 3 0
Nashriyah-i Iran		4,367 3 0
Prof. M. Haq. Memorial Fund		536 4 0
Abdul Halim Memorial Fund		5 0 0
		Rs. 33,324 14 6

ASSETS

		Rs. As. P.
Furniture & Fittings:—		
As on 31-12-51 ...	504 6 3	
Since Addition ...	586 2 0	1,090 8 3
Investments at cost:—		
3 Years' Cash Certificate with Central Bank of India Ltd.	4,544 12 0	
$3\frac{1}{2}$% 10 Years' Treasury Bonds with Reserve Bank of India	10,000 0 0	
3% G. P. Notes with Central Bank of India Ltd.	4,009 10 6	18,554 6 6
General Fund (Deficit Balance)		689 14 3
Dr. Ishaque Publication Fund (Deficit Balance)		729 13 9
Tarikh-i Bangala (Deficit Balance)		784 4 0
Al-Biruni Celebration Fund	45 7 6	
Al-Biruni Commemoration Fund	1,149 3 6	1,194 11 0
Cash in Hand		25 15 6
Cash at Bank:—		
Central Bank of India Ltd. (Current A/c.)		10,255 5 3
		Rs. 33,324 14 6

I beg to report that I have audited the Balance Sheet of The Iran Society, as at 31st December, 1952. I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required and in my opinion such Balance Sheet is drawn up in conformity with the Law and the Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

Calcutta 21/2/1953.

Sd/- J. Goswami,
Chartered Accountant.

Presidential Address

By

REV. FR. V. COURTOIS, S.J.

Members of the Society, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Iran Society is glad to extend to you all a warm and hearty welcome to this Ninth Annual General Meeting. Your presence here is a sign of the sympathetic interest which you take in the affairs of the Society and in the aim it has made its own ; to foster cultural relations between Iran and India.

In these days of economic competition and of conflicting ideologies which lead to enstrangement between nations it is of paramount importance to lay great stress on the study of culture from an international angle. A proper study of culture will certainly help tone down antagonism between peoples and to bring about friendlier relations between them ; such a study, indeed, must needs reveal the common brotherhood of mankind in the things of the mind and of the heart.

Culture is essentially a study of man, not of the *homo economicus* nor of the *homo politicus,* but of the full Man. The material and commercial needs of a nation may go counter to those of a neighbour state and lead to tension ; the political or merely the sentimental outlook of a people may be inimical towards other countries ; but true culture transcends the boundaries of the political and financial world of man to penetrate into that domain where man shows himself human, that is, endowed with a heart and a soul. The objective study of culture uncovers what is best in man as a worthy member of human society and not as a mere clog in the business machinery of a selfish world.

The study of human culture is the surest antidote to narrow-minded nationalism and to petty sectarianism.

In a modest way and within the limited means at its disposal the Iran Society has tried during the past year to add its contribution to the international aspect of culture.

It was the privilege of the Iran Society to have drawn the attention of scholars to the millenary of the great scientist of Khiva, Sheikh Abu Raihan Al-Biruni. The Society was the prime mover of the homage paid to Al-Biruni by the XXIst International Congress of Orientalists held in Persia in July 1948, and by the Fourteenth All-India Oriental Conference of Darbhanga in October of the same year. At both Congresses the Iran Society was represented and its delegates read a communication on Al-Biruni.

It was undoubtedly due also to the initiative of the Iran Society that Soviet Russia commemorated the birthday of the scholar of Khorasan ; but it chose to do so behind closed doors. Already in August 1947 we had tried to contact Russian Orientalists through the Indian Ambassador at Moscow for literary contributions to our Commemoration Volume on Al-Biruni ; our efforts were unsuccessful. We then approached directly the Akademiji Nauk SSSR of the Institute Vostokovedenija, Leningrad, for collaboration ; we received no reply. But in 1949 the Academy of Science of the USSR held two sessions in honour of Al-Biruni and the papers read on that occasion were published in 1950 by the Akademiji Nauk of Leningrad in a volume of 140 pages under the title of "Biruni. Sbornik statej."

To these functions and publications in other lands the Iran Society added its own. The Society wanted to pay due homage to the genius of a man who so well symbolises the aims and objects of the Society. But besides recalling his name and his greatness, the Iran Society longed to revive a little the spirit which animated Al-Biruni, his spirit of scientific research, his deep respect for truth, his sympathetic attitude towards the culture of other people. It was that spirit more than his scientific achievements that made Sheikh Abu Raihan universal. Al-Biruni's mind and heart were not confined to the boundaries of his native land ; they soared above and beyond the valley of the Amu Darya, above and beyond the walls of Ghazna to the plains of India in search of the wisdom of its pandits and the science of its scholars. There was in our Sheikh no false pretence of knowledge, no short-sighted nationalism, no blind fanaticism ; he willingly and gratefully gathered the truth wherever he found it and he loved it. Truth, indeed, is not the exclusive property of any nation nor of any race ; it is a participation of God and therefore universal, one and eternal. Al-Biruni was convinced of this fundamental principle and that is what made him feel at home wherever he went.

It is the earnest desire of the Iran Society that the example of Al-Biruni should be emulated by one and all.

It is urged by that desire that the Iran Society wants this year, at the special suggestion of Dr. M. Ishaque, to devote some attention to a contemporary of Al-Biruni and almost his compatriot, Abu Ali Ibn Sina or Avicenna as the West called him.

What Al-Biruni was for mathematics and the exact sciences, Ibn Sina was for philosophy and medicine. Both were scholars animated by the love of the Absolute, the same burning desire to understand the world around them and to discover the action of the First Cause in the effect which its power had brought about, the creation. But they approached the problem from different ways according to their personal dispositions. Whilst Al-Biruni recounted the deeds of men in his numerous works on history and and chronology, Ibn Sina tried to heal the sores of men through his studies in medicine ; whilst Al-Biruni attempted to measure the earth by means of sublime mathematics, Ibn Sina endeavoured to gauge its essence and explain

its existence with the help of philosophy. Both the scholars were eminent for their devotion to objective truth, and because of their achievements in different fields both can be considered as complementary to each other.

Ibn Sina, has therefore also a message for our moden world and pressing message at that.

The world in which we live seems so much distracted by pleasure or power-seeking that it finds no time nor feels any inclination to stay a while and ponder over the subtle problems which in fact determine its deeds, the philosophical problems. Even if the importance of philosophy is overlooked by many, it remains that it is philosophy that leads the world and this not only in the domain of abstract thinking but in the very profane field of politics and economics. It is what men believe about God and the world which dictates their moral principles, their attitude towards the rights of God and those of their fellow men. Philosophy is the basic branch of human knowledge and behaviour because it is the science which teaches him the correct use of his reason.

Contact with Avicenna must mean a return to philosophy and sound thinking. We shall be glad therefore if the Iran Society in its coming year bring in our midst the philosopher of Hamadan so that we may re-learn from him the right angle from which to look at the world.

Whilst pondering over the achievements of the Society and its plans for the future, our thoughts go to two members of the Society who were with us last year and are no more ; Mr. Dinshaw H. Mehta and Maulvi Abdul Halim. Maulvi Abdul Halim was a patron of the Society which he helped to found and which he always generously encouraged in all its undertakings. Mr. Dinshaw H. Mehta was for many years Assistant Secretary and was always extremely keen on the welfare of the Society to which he gave much of his time. To the memory of both we pay respectful homage.

Before bringing this address to an end I like to thank most sincerely the Office-bearers, the Councillors and the Members of the Iran Society. It is because of their devotion and collaboration that the Society is today what it is ; the credit of its achievements must go to them.

Our gratitude also goes to all the well-wishers of the Society among which we like to single out the West Bengal Government, the Government of Iran, and most particularly Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Minister for Education in India, whose sympathy for the Society has always been a great incentive to work.

May the Iran Society continue to prosper and labour successfully in fulfilment of her cultural mission.

BOOK REVIEWS

Preliminary Report on an old Dakhma of Yazd by Dr. Jamshedji Maneckji Unvala, M.A., Ph.D., Bombay 1951, Pp. 1—13 (Reprinted from the Sanj Vartaman Pateti Annual, Bombay).

Dr. Unvala needs no introduction to the learned section of the society. His deep erudition, his devotion to culture and his passion for acquiring whatever new in thought, religion etc. transcend the borders of any country. His quest for unravelling the mysteries of life is too well known. Such a quest took him to Iran several times, the latest one being in May, 1951 when he opened the treasure-house of information regarding a facet of Iranian Zoroastrianism for the benefit of posterity. He travelled to Yazd in Iran, personally investigated the matter and found to his utter surprise how great and perfect was Iranian Zoroastrianism in bygone days. The curious finds in a ruined town near Yazd give us a clue to the great heights to which the Iranian Zoroastrians rose in that dim past age. Since the presentation of this Report for the first time to Lt-Col. M. S. Irani, the author has been able to dive deep into the history of the place and unearth several archaeological and numismatic finds which date back to 862 A.H. or a couple of years earlier. The author hopes to publish in the near furture a detailed description of his various finds with illustrations for the benefit of the antiquarians. The present Report opens up a new chapter in the pristine history of Zoroastianism.

1. SAD BAND-I TAGORE. (One Hundred Poems of Tagore)—Translated into Persian. Pages 126. Price Rs. 2/9

2. KALAM-I TAGORE. (Urdu translation of 126 poems of Tagore)—Pages 202. Price Rs. 2/8

Translation done by late M. Zia-ud-Din, Professor of Persian and Urdu, Vishwabharati, Shantiniketan. Published by Vishwabharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta—7.

The two books mentioned above are a welcome addition to the Oriental literature. Chosen pieces from the Bengali works of Rabindranath Tagore, the Sentinel of the East, are rendered into Persian and Urdu for the benefit of those, who know these languages and are not acquainted with Bengali. The translations are faithful and literary and make a nice independent reading. They were done during the lifetime of the Poet and had his full approval. In translating into Persian, assistance has been taken by Pur-i-Daud, the famous patriotic poet of Iran, whose name is a sufficient guarantee

for the accuracy of the text. A beautiful portrait of the Poet embellishes each volume. The get-up of the books is excellent with cloth binding.

Hira Lall Chopra

RUMI—(Poet and Mystic) by Reynold A. Nicholson. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, Museum Street, London. Pages 190. Price 8/6.

With this book is inaugurated a useful series of publications known as "Ethical and Religious Classics of the East and West", whose General Editors are Profs. A. J. Arberry, S. Radhakrishnan, H. N. Spalding and F. W. Thomas. This is a posthumous publication of Prof. R. A. Nicholson's book of translations illustrating Sufi doctrine and experience as depicted by the greatest of Iranian mystical poets, Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, with a learned introduction completed by Prof. Nicholson's pupil and successor in the Cambridge University, Prof. A. J. Arberry. Representative pieces from the great and monumental *MASNAWI* are rendered into English with copious notes giving the essence of the philosophy of Rumi which epitomises the Sufi doctrine of Islam as enunciated by famous Persian mystics. English renderings sound more like original compositions as will be evident from the following verses popularly known as 'The Song of the Reed':—

"Hearken to this Reed forlorn,
Breathing, ever since 'twas torn
From its rushy bed, a strain
Of impassioned love and pain.

The secret of my song, though near,
More can see and none can hear
Oh, for a friend to know the sign
And mingle all his soul with mine!

'Tis the flame of Love that fired me,
'Tis the wine of Love inspired me.
Wouldst thou learn how lovers bleed,
Hearken, hearken to the Reed!"

SUFISM—An account of the Mystics of Islam by A. J. Arberry, published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, Museum Street, London. Pages 144. Price 8/6.

Professor Arberry has made a name for himself by his magnificent contributions to Persian and Arabic literatures. His translation of Persian Psalms by Iqbal was reviewed in the pages of Indo-Iranica sometime ago. Rubaiyats of Omar Khayyam and Extracts from the Holy Quran have already won him appreciation from the Indologists of the world and this publication in 'Ethical and religious classics of East and West' is a valuable addition to the history of Sufism. How this philosophy came into being and poets and philosophers who enriched it find a chronological treatment in this book. Sanai, Attar, Nizami, Rumi, Hafiz and Khayyam are

frequently cited and translated besides Arab propounders of this doctrine. The Word of God, The Life of the Prophet, The Ascetics, The Mystics, The Theorists of Sufism, The Structure of Sufi Theory and Practice, The Sufi Orders, The Theosophy of Islamic Mysticism, The Persian Poets, The Decay of Sufism and Epilogue constitute the chapters of this book and it is established beyond doubt that the philosophy of Sufism is of Islamic origin and influence through and through. It is really a treat to read philosophy presented in most acceptable and convincing form by Prof. Arberry and is a definite improvement on the past attempts of Browne, Nicholson and Canon Sell.

Hira Lall Chopra

NEWS

Dr. Marine Daftary

UNDER the auspices of the Indian National Commission for co-operation with UNESCO and under the chairmanship of its President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad a Seminar was held at the Central Hall of the Parliament House in New Delhi from Monday the 5th January, 1953 to Saturday the 17th January 1953. The last day's session was addressed by the President of the Union of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. This Seminar, called the Gandhian Seminar, was held to discuss 'the contribution of Gandhian outlook and techniques to the solution of tensions between and within nations.' The representatives of ten countries including U.S.A., U.K., France, Germany, Italy, Brazil, Japan, Iran, Afghanistan and India attended the Seminar and made significant contributions towards the cause. The notable absentees were Russia and China.

On the conclusion of the Seminar the Iranian representative in the person of ex-Premier Dr. Matine Daftary toured different parts of India incluing Calcutta. On Sunday the 25th January 1953 at 5-30 p.m. Dr. Daftary was kind enough to pay a visit to the Iran Society and hold discussions with the members of the Council present. Light refreshment was served at the end of the visit.

The following is the full text of the address delivered by Dr. Daftary at the Gandhian Seminar:—

"It has been a great privilege for me, so far, indeed, to have attended this international Seminar on Gandhian principles, in this historic capital of India, and thus be benefited by the very excellent view points of various renowned Indian as well as other scholars, who are here to find a way in the Gandhian doctrines, for promoting and preserving peace in the world.

Presumably I, too, have been asked to this Seminar because the authorities of the Indian Government thought that I am also one of the devoted servants of the cause of peace. I must thank, therefore, the organisers for this rather appropriate view of myself, which they so kindly took. It is true, indeed, that for years I have fought for the ideals of the League of Nations now dead, and the present U.N.O. Accordingly I accepted this cordial invitation very gratefully, so that in this visit of mine I may succeed in benefitting from Gandhian teachings and thus stand before the objects of my visit face to face.

I must confess I have not previously made sufficient study of Gandhian thought. That is why I have been trying throughout to learn and to appreciate in this Seminar so far, rather than speak or address myself.

May I also remark that it has not been very difficult for me at all to follow and appreciate all the deep and subtle things said on Gandhiji des-



Dr. Matine Daftary, ex-Premier of Iran who visited the Iran Society on the 25th January, 1953.

pite my previous insufficient study of him. This capacity to appreciate the noble ideals of Gandhiji is inherent in most of the Iranians, indeed, even our masses can appreciate and understand fully these great principles, of love, non-violence and supreme sacrifice.

This fact, however, is accountable. For centuries Iranians have been under the spell of teachers like *Firdausi, Saadi, Hafiz, Sanai* and *Gazali,* whose exhortations and teachings greatly resemble those of Gandhi. The great masters whom I am mentioning belong to all ages and to every clime. There is a universal appeal in these true leaders of humanity. Saadi of Iran is equally owned by India, and Gandhi of India belongs to India and Iran alike.

It would not be impertinent, therefore, if I mention here that there exists a very striking and wonderful analogy between the Gandhian ideals and the ones preached and supported by the Iranian poets and mystics. During a chequered and long career of some nine hundred years in India of the Persian language, the Iranian genius has become so inextricably wedded to the Indian mind that both seem sometimes to have emanated from one and the same source.

Any student of literature would find that the same unqualified insistence on non-violence and purity of thought and action, spirit rather than matter, idealism rather than brute action, forgiveness rather than retribution, truth rather than evil, which Gandhiji has preached with great fervour in our own times have in the past been fervently sung by the great Iranian poets. To corroborate further what I have said I would like to quote a few Persian lines and would also read out their translations to you.

Saadi, whom we all know and love, says:—

All mankind are limbs of one another,
In origin their descent is same.
When some one part of the body aches,
The rest of the limbs become restless.
Thou who careth not for the grief and the wail of men
It befits not to call thee human.

Another poet says:—

The controversy between *Faith* and *Heresy* terminates at the self-same place at least,
The dream is one, interpretations vary.

Then again:—

I stare in wonder why all this bitterness between *Faith* and *Unbelief,*
When both the Kaaba and the temple are ablaze from the same torch.

Orfi says:—

The inmates of the Kaaba worship the door,
The devout adore the book,

Let the curtain be discovered to reveal,
That the friends are worshipping something else.

And then a beautiful stave from Hafiz:—

Love is all pervading
It has enveloped the Mosque and the Church alike.

Now that you must have appreciated how I and my countrymen are psychologically in a position to understand the teachings of Gandhi, I wish to make my own humble contribution to this Seminar, and thus try to benefit fully from Gandhian treasure-houses of *truth* and *knowledge*.

Today none is there in the world who is not greatly perplexed and *at sea* in regard to his future. What are we to do then in order to avoid the mistakes of the past? This is the most important question. Well, of the various learned discourses that I have been listening here, that of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, our distinguished President, has left a deep impression on me, I am quite sure if only we keep in view his line of thought we shall in this Seminar achieve something worth while.

May I quote from his speech some very thoughtful pieces—He said:—

"The responsibility of World War II was generally laid on Hitler, but if one asked who created Hitler, the answer would be the signing of the Treaty of Versailles was the moment of Hitler's birth . . . .". Then again:—

"World War II was nothing but a release of the hatreds that were generated in Germany in consequence of the Versailles Treaty. World War II is now creating conditions for a Third World War. Who can say where this process of destruction will take mankind?"

Gentlemen, as a fervent believer in the UNO ideals I wish to add to what the Maulana reminded us that UNO, the only hope of humanity to-day, is also lamentably going the way of its predecessor, the League of Nations. The League paid little heed to the petitions of the nations who were demanding revision of their fates and complained against the state of affairs resulting from the most unjust treaties and pacts, but the League remained adamant. War came, and the big fire that blew up, burnt away the League itself! UNO too likewise has today shut up its doors upon several of the nations and countries, whose co-operation is needed for strengthening peace. UNO remains unfortunately disregardful of the joint commitments of its members and is only a spectator of the attempts made by different nations towards economic or political pressure of others, and has apparently no desire to check them.

UNO has even failed to show any regard for what, in my opinion, constitutes the most important of all its missions, *i.e.*, "to recommend measures, which would guarantee the peaceful adjustment of situation whatever their origin, and which appear or are calculated to harm and jeopardise the general welfare or the amicable relations between the nations."

This important assignment of the UNO, as prescribed by the article 14 of its charter, implies that all injustices of the past are to be rectified

and that all those concessions which the stronger nations had forcibly snatched away from the weaker nations, are to be totally annulled, enabling thus all nations to enjoy equal rights in a practical manner.

How then are we to apply the Gandhian principles of justice and toleration, when we find that the *wrongs* done in the past are still there?

I was rather pleased by the coincidence of this assemblage of ours with Mr. Attlee's visit to Delhi. That 'imperialism is now undergoing the process of dissolution and liquidation' was a very significant utterance made by Mr. Attlee in his speech in the Indian Parliament. I wish big powers of the world may take this gesture from Mr. Attlee, and may agree in a practical manner with this pronouncement, so that imperialism dies completely everywhere, both in the East and in the West. It must be obvious to all, that with imperialism being there, there can be no real peace in the world, nor can the third world war be avoided.

Now in order to be able to discover the way of benefiting from the Gandhian *precepts* and *morals* let us take stock and adequately assess the situation, confronting us today. In this respect I cannot do better than quote the very graphic words of Lord Boyd-Orr. He said:—

'There are four significant factors in the modern world which have to be kept in mind considering the possibility of applying Gandhian techniques to the solution of internal and international tensions: *the first* the advance of science that has created conditions which can either eliminate hunger and disease or can annihilate mankind; *the second*: the concentration of power in the hands of a small minority, leading to *the third*, the transformation of the world so that there are only *two nations* who can deploy overwhelming military power, *the fourth*: and hopeful factor, the great development in the ethical consciousness of the masses, mainly as a result of the progress of education."

With this world situation, the issue claiming all priority of thoughtful deliberation is: What are then the rest of the nations to do? Are they merely to stare and stand motionless, and fascinated before the two *Bigs* providing irresistibly the fuel for the third huge inflammation? Are they to remain scattered about, some becoming subservient to *this*, and some to *that* big power?

Or are they to draw closer to each other, creating thus a strong group-alliance on the basis of love of peace and security? But in so doing not severing our ties with the UNO, and also to so contrive that a danger of any third big collision may be considerably eliminated, and the great ideals and objectives of the UNO as for example seeking reduction in the nation's *armaments* may profitably be achieved.

Does it not therefore behove us all to make a solemn pledge to assist each other in the event of an aggression, and rout it whosoever be the aggressor?

Mr. Kripalani has rightly referred to this notion when he announced in the course of a nice speech of his that:

"The problem before the world today is whether Gandhiji's principles of non-violent resistance could be applied to conflicts between nations?" According to Mr. Kripalani, this was possible if "an individual nation was ready to make sacrifices for an international cause, exactly as an individual does for a national cause, achieving thus a standard of morality."

True, an individual should immolate himself for a national cause, setting an example for others, as Mahatma Gandhi did in very recent years, and so should be the case with nations, sacrificing themselves for international causes.

In the world of today, with war not apparently very distant, if all the peaceful and freedom-loving nations in *Asia, Africa, Europe* and *America* do not actually rush towards mutual concord, and assist one another, helping create an effective peace front, mere individual efforts on the part of nations would be tantamount to a suicide.

If the European countries have not read the signs of time yet and felt our pulse in Asia and Africa, thus far realising that no more we are going to coalesce with imperialism or exploitation of any type whatsoever, and if these nations are not going to join us in the struggle for constructing the edifice of peace, and if those in the Western Hemisphere consider themselves quite far away from the scene of action, why should we, the Asian and African nations not come forward? May be this initiative on our part might induce others to join us and also to co-operate with us in this *battle of Right.*

To build up an effective and strong front of the *Asians* and *Africans* greater and yet greater mutual understanding is urgently needed between us. If supposing the trade relations can't for some reason or the other get speeded up, let not the cultural ties be spared; on the other hand these must be strengthened.

Gentlemen, this is an age of nationalism. Nationalism to my mind is a re-action to imperialism, so it is good only so long as it holds imperialism at bay, but it must not preclude our becoming mutually more and more united. Let the dagger of nationalism be therefore sharp for imperialism only and not be used to cut ourselves adrift.

Some days back Mr. Nehru said that Indian people were not against the British people in their struggle but against the British imperialism. This view was later repeated by Mr. Kripalani too. Indeed this is precisely the right frame of mind ...to be commended. We should be friends of all nations and not become averse to any.

I must observe, however, that if at all, and whenever, the imperialist policy is followed, whatever the *power that be,* in East or West, they are to be *resisted.* This would be genuine and a reasoned nationalism. But let not a show of supra-nationalism, hide-bound and parochial, narrow and extreme, stand in the way of mutual *intelligibility* of nations.

For then our maladies would aggravate, and the differences, linguistic,

religious and otherwise, which have come to us as the gift of imperialism, would only sharpen and take roots. I would like to illustrate my point of view further for it is of considerable moment to me. Suppose we, the Iranians, try to exterminate Arabic words from the language spoken by Hafiz and Saadi, the Turks turn out the Persian words, replacing them by newly coined Turkish words, and our Indian friends disown the vast Persian heritage so akin to the genius of the Indian soil and Gandhian philosophy, where shall we possibly land ourselves ultimately? These reactionary and separatist movements among us would throw us further and farther away from one another, bringing in their wake, isolationism and an intellectual alienness.

May I ask, by the way, whether it would not be rather a reflection upon us all that we should perforce have to adopt one or the other of European languages, brought to us by imperialism, in order to make our views known in such gatherings as this? I am not opposed to these languages as such. All I want is to make a plea for the rich and great Oriental languages. The promotion of these languages is bound to melt away the barriers between us.

I should also like to say in this respect that regarding disputes, territorial or otherwise existing between us, let us liquidate them magnanimously, as far as possible. Thus alone can we succeed in stopping aggression.

Thus alone, i.e., by minimising all our possible differences of spirit and outlook, of language and religion, can we apply the *non-violence* and *non-co-operation* of the Gandhian concept.

I am reminded here of what our dear friend Mr. Kripalani said:—

"If every nation acted truthfully and honestly and was prepared to suffer for its faith, the aggressor, would in course of time be exhausted."

Gentlemen, in case isolationism in Asia persists any more, the alternative would be a further and as more vigorous exploitation of us all, either by *state capitalism*, or the exploiting trusts. As long as exploitation exists, it would remain impossible to eliminate war. It is only in peace that it is possible for us, the so-called under-developed countries and to thrive and to prosper. In peace alone can we build up prosperity in our own homes, by providing *bread* and *work* for all, securing a more reasoned distribution of wealth, raising the standard of living of the common man, lessening the class conflicts, achieving thus a sort of a *social justice and equity*.

Gentlemen, war widens the scope of imperialism. In the event of war the freedom loving peoples in particular, are chastised with malevolence and recrimination, there remains neither the *bread* nor the morality. Indeed as one of my teachers was wont to repeat, "to talk of *law* or *morals* in war is a fantastic nonsense," for war knows no principles or canons, neither the international nor the national laws. Nor are the moral exhortations of great spiritual masters at all show any regard, and I am pretty

certain, if war comes the eloquence of Professor Massignon also, which the other day he unleashed in the defence of the war-wounded and the refugees of war would pay no dividends.

Let us therefore take a solemn pledge and *vrata* after the Gandhian pattern, not to hesitate, so long as we like, to plant ourselves solidly, against forces of aggression, from whatever quarter it comes, and whosoever happens to be the aggressor .

The Iranian Press Delegation

On Tuesday the 3rd February, 1953 at 4-30 p.m. the Council of the Iran Society was pleased to accord a hearty welcome to the visiting members of the Iranian Press Delegation to India at the premises of the Iran Society at 102, Prinsep Street, Calcutta-13. Of the five members—Mr. Abbas Masoodi (Leader and Editor-Proprietor of the largest circulated daily 'Ettelaat,' Mr. Abdur Rahman Framarzi, a Deputy of the Iranian Majlis and Chief Editor of the daily 'Keyhan', Mr. Abdul Hasan Amidi Noori, Editor-Proprietor of the daily 'Dad', Mr. Jalali Naini, Chief Editor of the 'Bakhtar Imroz', the official organ of Dr. Mossadeq's National Front Party and Mr. Danish Naubakhat, Chief Editor-Proprietor of 'Siasat-i Ma' an opposition paper, one member of the delegation Mr. Framarzi could not be present at the function of the Society due to illness. They were accompanied by Mr. Syed Nazir Husain, M.A., a Persian Scholar of the Calcutta University and now the First Secretary (Information) at the Indian Embassy at Tehran (Iran). Throughout the tour of the delegation in India Mr. Husain had been acting as its escort and representative of the Government of India. The Regional Deputy Principal Information Officer of the Government of India. Mr. Benoy Mukhopadhyay M.A., also accompanied the members of the delegation to the Society to cover the function.

On arrival at the gate of the Iran Society the members of the delegation were cordially received by the President, the Secretary and important members of the Council of the Society. They were then taken upstairs. A group photograph of the members of the delegation, the Office-bearers of the Council of the Society and several important members was taken on the terrace of the Society's premises. They were afterwards conducted to the Library, Reading Room and the spacious hall of the Society. All the assembled guests of the evening having taken their seats, the Secretary and the President of the Society extended their cordial welcome to the honoured guests and spoke in eulogising terms on the value of such exchange which cemented the bonds of fellowship that existed between nations from time immemorial. The Secretary also dwelt at length how the Iran Society was trying to foster better relationship between India and Iran for several years past. In reply to the Secretary's speech in Persian, the Leader of the delegation Mr. Masoodi and another member of delegation Mr. Naubakhat spoke in Persian appreciating the arrangements made by the Society that evening



The Iranian Press Delegation at the reception given by the Iran Society on the 3rd February, 1953.

for their reception. They reciprocated the good sentiments expressed therein and stated in unequivocal terms how they were greatly pleased by the arrangements so far made by the Government of India for their tour through the country, by the manifestations and evidences of this country's great cultural heritages, scenic beauties, this country's great efforts to raise the economic condition of the people, her friendship and understanding for Iran and her manifold present day problems, and the lasting influence of Persian culture and language in this country. They stated emphatically that they would try their best to be of any service to the Society. Later on Mr. Syed Nazir Husain informed the audience how Iran was trying to tackle her difficult present day problems and what great love the Iranians bore for this country and her people.

At the conclusion of the function a light refreshment was served.

Conference on Islamic Civilisation

The Library of Congress and Princeton University are sponsoring a conference in September 1953 on Islamic Civilisation and Culture. Thirty eminent Muslim scholars and intellectual leaders from countries of the Middle East and Asia are being invited to participate: Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaya, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey and Yemen. There will be a similar number of American delegates.

Meetings will be held at Princeton, New Jersey, September 8-17, 1953 and in Washington, D. C., September 17-19, 1953.

The conference is known as the "Colloquium on Islamic Culture in its Relation to the Contemporary World." Papers and discussions will be concerned with aspects of one of the three following fields:

(*a*) Classical Elements in Islamic Culture;

(*b*) Islamic Law and Society;

(*c*) Intellectual and Spiritual Movements in Islam Today.

The conference is being held in recognition of the need for further knowledge in the United States of the Cultural bases of Islamic civilisation and of the spiritual and intellectual aspects of Islamic life. It is anticipated that through the increased understanding in the United States of the significant movements in Islam today, new lines of research and study will be opened up.

The co-operation of the State Department has been secured in increasing the number of Muslim delegates who can attend the Colloquium. Through the Educational Exchange Service of the International Information Administration, a number of prominent Muslim scholars have been invited to the United States for three months during which they will attend the conference.

Dr. Bayard Dodge, President Emeritus of the American University, Beirut, Lebanon, has been appointed Executive Director of the Colloquium by the Library of Congress and Princeton University.

OURSELVES

On the evening of 25th January, 1953 the Iran Society was visited by Dr. Matine Daftary, ex-Premier of Iran while on tour in this country after attending the meeting of the Gandhian Seminar at New Delhi. Dr. Daftary expressed his great pleasure in seeing the noble work so long being assiduously and selflessly carried on by the Iran Society.

* * *

The Iran Society was the venue of attraction on the evening of 3rd February, 1953 when the official Iranian Press Delegation visiting India came to the Society. The delegation was accompanied by Mr. Syed Nazir Husain, M.A., First Secretary (Information) in the Indian Embassy at Tehran and the Regional Deputy Principal Information Officer of the Government of India, Mr. Benoy Mukhopadhyay, M.A., The delegation was given a very hearty reception by the President and members of the Council of the Society, a group photograph was taken and a very pleasing evening function was gone through including congratulatory and appreciative speeches in Persian by the distinguished members of the Press Delegation, Mr. Syed Nazir Husain and the Hony. Secretary of the Society.

* * *

The Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society was held on Sunday, the 15th March, 1953 at 11 a.m. in the Hall of the Loreto Secondary School at 169, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13 under the Presidentship of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. at which the new Council for 1953-54 was elected.



The arrival of the Iranian Press Delegation in Calcutta on the 2nd February, 1953.

از اون بالا میایه جامه زردُم نمیزاری[1] بخوابُم روی دردُم
تو که باغ گلی از خود نداری تماشائی نداره باغِ سردُم

* * *

بهار اوسد که مو شیدا بگردُم چو طوطی در لب دریا بگردُم
پلنگ در کوه و آهو در بیابون همه جفتند و مو تنها بگردُم

(۱) مخفف نمیگذاری

بهترین نمونه ذوق ادبی و قریحهٔ شعری ایرانیان همان ترانه‌ها است که روستائیان و چادر نشینان هر ولایت و ایالت گفته و میگویند و نظر بهمین عقیده است که این جانب از زمانی که شروع بمطالعه در اطراف ادبیات فارسی کردم ترانه‌های روستائی جلب توجهم را نمود و هر جا دو بیتی یا ترانه‌ای میدیدم یاد داشت میکردم تا اینکه در سال هزار و سیصد و ده هجری شمسی در اول رساله بنام ''ترانه‌های ملّی فهلویات،، منتشر کردم. این رساله توجه دانشمندان و مستشرقین را جلب نمود و پرفسور هانری ماسه بفرانسه ترجمه‌اش نمود و همچنین سایر مستشرقین تا اینکه در سال ۱۳۱۴ جناب آقای علی اصغر حکمت وزیر فرهنگ شد و مرا از سر کلاس درس برداشت و روانه دیهات و روستای کشور نمود تا آنجائیکه مقدور است فولکلور کشور را جمع آوری نمائیم. چندین سال در دیهات و روستای ایران گردش کردم مواد بسیاری جمع آوری کردم من جمله ارمغان این سفرها یکی کتاب ''هفتصد ترانه،، است و ''چهارده افسانه،، از افسانه‌های روستائی ایران است درمقدمه‌ای که مرحوم ملک الشعرا بهار برای ''هفتصد ترانه،، نوشته است مقاله مفصّلی در اطراف فولکلور نوشته است و همچنین مرحوم ذکاء الملک فروغی، رجوع بآنجا شود. در چند سال پیش که پرفسور ویلبر امریکائی ''هفتصد ترانه،، را ترجمه نموده است برای مقدمه ترجمه خود مقدمه نوشته است که بسیار مفید میباشد و در چاپ سوم و چهارم که در تهران نموده‌ام این مقدمه چاپ شده است، نیز بدانجا رجوع شود. اکنون چند ترانه از نظر خوانندگان میگذارم و برای اینکه درست پی به پیدایش این نوع شعر به برند، رجوع کنند بمقاله مرحوم ملک الشعراء بهار و مرحوم فروغی ذکاء الملک بر مقدمه چاپ اول و سوم چاپ تهران ۱۳۱۷ — ۱۳۲۲.

شتر از بار می‌ناله من از دل بنالیم هر دو مون منزل بمنزل
شتر ناله که مو[۱] بارُم گرونه منم نالوم که دور افتادم از وِل[۲]

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(۱) یعنی من

(۲) وِل یعنی محبوب، معشوق

فولکلور،(۱) دو بیتی یا ترانه

بقلم آقای حسین کوهی کرمانی - مدیر روزنامهٔ نسیم صبا، تهران

سوزون‌ترین و مطبوع‌ترین اشعار فارسی که کاملاً متناسب با ذوق فرزندان ایران و باز ماندگان عصر پهلوی میباشد ترانه یا دو بیتی است اختراع وزن و بحری که به رباعی یا ترانه یا دو بیتی معروف است بتصدیق عروض‌نویسان از ایرانیان است، خاصه ایرانیانی که در قراء و دیهات بسر میبرده و یا چادر نشین بوده اند و در آغوش طبیعت پرورش یافته اند ایرانیان پس از استیلای عرب مصائب وارده بر خویش و احساسات غم انگیز خود و دیگر تأثرات خویش را بوسیلهٔ ترانه که با لحنی دلکش و جانسوز خوانده میشد ابراز میداشتند. ترانه بحدی مطبوع طباع و دلنشین خاص و عام گردید که چنین اختراع شد دیری نگذشت که عموم فارسی زبانان از شهری و دیهاتی بدان رغبت کردند و شعراء بهترین افکار و معانی بکر را که بخاطر شان خطور میکرد بدان وزن بیان نمودند و حتی اعراب نیز بگفتن دو بیتی مایل شدند و در ساختن رباعیات از ایرانیان پیروی کردند. دیوان کمتر شاعری است که ازین نوع شعر خالی باشد و کمتر رباعی است که بر مضمون دلکش و معنی لطیف مشتمل نباشد و بهترین آنها رباعیاتی هستند که از طبع ساده و فکر بی‌آلایش روستائیان و چادر نشینان تراوش میکنند به اینگونه مردم بتکلفات و تصنعات که ادبای شهری و درس خوانده دو چار میباشند گرفتار نیستند معانی دلپسند که بخاطر آنها میآید عموماً تازه و ساده و دارای تأثیری عمیق است که در اشعار دیگران کمتر دیده میشود بعقیدهٔ نگارنده

Folklore (۱)

هخامنشیان شاهنشاهی عظیم ساسانی ظاهر شد و بار دیگر عظمت گذشته ایران را بدست آورد و بدنیا فهماند که ایرانی هیچ وقت مغلوب و دست نشانده بیگانگان نمیشود و از هر فرصتی برای تجدید افتخارات گذشته و تکامل خود استفاده میکند و بهر قیمتی که باشد بیگانه را از خانه خود میراند و استقلال خویش را برای همیشه محفوظ نگاه میدارد. تحولات بعدی تاریخ هم این گفته را تائید میکند. هر جا که مشاهده میکنیم جزئی تزلزلی در ارکان استقلال ما وارد شده بلا فاصله می‌بینیم که جمعی از مردان رشید و فداکار این کشور دامن همت بر کمر زده و با کمال قدرت ارکان متزلزل استقلال ایران را استوار کرده و علم افتخار و مباهات آنرا بار دیگر باهتزاز در آورده اند.

در حال مستی و برخلاف عقیده باطنی خود انجام داده ولی نطق او قبل از حمله بشهر پارس بهترین دلیل است بر آنکه اسکندر عمداً تخت جمشید را سوزانده و شهر پارس را ویران کرده است علاوه بر آن هنگامیکه اسکندر میخواست تخت جمشید را آتش زند پارسن ین سردار او گفته بود این کار بدون هیچ تردیدی فتوحات اسکندر را خراب میکند زیرا آسیائی‌ها تصور میکنند که اسکندر مقصودی جز غارت و خرابی آسیا ندارد و نمیخواهد آنرا نگاهدارد. ولی اسکندر جواب داده بود: لشکری از پارس بیونان آمد و آتن را خراب کرد و معابد را آتش زد. من باید انتقام این کردار را بکشم. و سپس بآتش زدن تخت جمشید پرداخت این گفتار بخوبی میرساند که اسکندر از روی تعمد باین کار دست زده و با ویران ساختن پای تخت هخامنشیان میخواسته است بپارسیان بفهماند که استقلال و سیادت آنان پایان یافته و دیگر نباید گرد این افکار بکردند با این حال مقدونیان بعدها از کردار خود پشیمان شدند و از اینکه شهری بآن عظمت درمیان عربده مستان و در آتش بیداد سوخته و ویران شده بود فوق العاده شرمسار و متاثر بودند ولی کار از کار گذشته و چارهٔ نداشت. خود اسکندر نیز از کردار خویش شرمسار شد و بسردارانش گفت اگر پارس آتش‌زده نمیشد انتقام یونانیان از پارسیان بهتر گرفته میشد چون آنها میدیدند که من بر تخت خشایارشا نشسته‌ام اسکندر پس از این کار ناشایست که برای او فوق العاده گران تمام شد از پارس حرکت کرد و بطرف ماد رفت. این کردار ناصحیح اسکندر عواقب و خیمی برای یونانیان بدنبال داشت و جنگهای اشکانیان با سلوکیها و روم و مبارزه ساسانیان و بیزانس را باعث شد و پاره‌ای اشخاص را عقیده بر آنست که حتی تمام سختگیریهای شاپور ساسانی شاهنشاه ایران بروالرین امپراطور روم که باسارت ایرانیان درآمده بود عکس العمل اقدامات ظالمانه اسکندر در ایران بوده است بهرحال رفتار ظالمانه اسکندر در ایران بار دیگر ایرانیان را از خواب غفلت بیدار کرد و قوای آنان را متمرکز ساخت و چنانکه میدانیم چندی بعد از میان ویرانه‌های کاخ

فراهم آورده و پس از آنکه تمام مشعلها را روشن کردند اسکندر مشعلی بدست گرفته و پیشاپیش آن گروه مست و لایعقل براهنمائی تائیس بطرف طالار بزرگ صفه تخت جمشید روان شد دیگران نیز عربده‌کشان از دنبال او براه افتادند و زنان بد عمل هم با نوای نی شروع بخواندن آهنگهای تحریک‌آمیز کردند و باین ترتیب بصفه با عظمت پارس یا تخت جمشید وارد شدند و بقولی ابتدا اسکندر تائیس را در حالیکه مشعلی بدست داشت بر روی دست بلند کرده و آن زن نابکار اولین مشعل را در طالار انداخت و بقولی دیگر ابتدا اسکندر مشعلی بدرون طالار انداخت و بعد از او تائیس دومین مشعل را بطالار پرتاب کرد و دیگران نیز هر کدام مشعلی بطالارها افگندند و چیزی نگذشت که تمام قصر یکپارچه آتش گرفت زیرا بعضی از ستونها و سقف عموم طالارها از چوب ساخته شده بود سپاهیان یونانی که درکنار شهر پارس اردو زده بودند چون از دور شعله‌های بی‌پایان آتش را دیدند بتصور آنکه پارسیها مخصوصاً ارگ را آتش‌زده اند که یونانیان از آن استفاده نکنند مقدار زیادی آب تهیه کرده و بجانب ارگ پارس شتافتند تا آتش را خاموش کنند ولی چون پادشاه و امرای خود را مشعل بدست دیدند دانستند که آتش زدن ارگ تخت جمشید کار آنها است بدین جهت باز گشتند و باردوگاه خود رفتند ولی شدت حریق بقدری زیاد بود که بقسمت اعظم شهر پارس نیز سرایت کرده و بیشتر بناهای آنجا را نیز ویران ساخت آتش زدن تخت جمشید یکی از بدترین و ننگین ترین اعمال اسکندر بشمار میرود زیرا با این عمل ناپسند گذشته از آنکه یکی از پایتختهای بزرگ جهان را ویران ساخت یک مجموعه بزرگ هنری را نیز که در دنیای آن روز بی‌نظیر و در نوع خود ممتاز بود از میان برد و نابود کرد ولی باقیمانده آثار تخت جمشید که تدریجاً کشف شده معرف عظمت گذشته آنست و پس از چندین هزار سال که از تاریخ وقوع این جنایت بزرگ میگذرد هنوز هر بیننده منصف در مقابل این آثار فوق العاده هنری بی‌اختیار سر تعظیم و تحسین فرود میآورد. گویند که اسکندر این عمل را

او چون خواست تمام آنها را حمل کند مال بنه بحد کافی نداشت و ناچار شد مأمورینی بشوش و بابل فرستد و در حدود سه هزار شتر و عده زیادی قاطر از آنجا فراهم آورد. اسکندر پس از این خرابکاریها پادگانی بعده سه هزار نفر در آنجا گذاشت و تیری داد خزانه‌دار خائن هخامنشیان را که برای ورود یونانیان بپارس اسکندر را راهنمائی کرده بود بشغل سابق خود ابقا کرد و سایر قسمتهای قوا را با باروبنه به کراتیر و پارسن ین سپرد و خود عازم درون پارس گشت و پس از دیدن آثار بی‌نظیر آن شهر جشن فتوحات خویش را در صفه تخت جمشید برپا ساخت و برای خدایان خود قربانیهای زیاد کرد و بیونانیان انعام داد. زنان بدکاره یونانی که در این ضیافت حضور داشتند وسایل لهو و لعب یونانیان را فراهم میکردند و در اینوقت که همه سرگرم میگساری و مست باده ارغوانی بودند و صدای عربده‌های ابلهانه آنان در فضاطنین انداز بود و کسی را یارای تفکر و تعقل نبود یکی از زنان بدکار بنام تائیس که در آتیک تولد یافته بود خود را بآغوش اسکندر افگنده و گفت یکی از مهمترین کارهای اسکندر در آسیا که باعث مباهات همیشگی او و بقای نام نیکش خواهد شد آنست که با من و رفقایم براه افتاده و این کاخ با عظمت را آتش زند و در یک لحظه بدست زنان این آثار نامی و معروف پارسیان را نیست و نابود سازد. این سخنان که با عشوه گری تمام ادا شده بود در مغز سپاهیان از خود بیخبر یونان اثر فوق العاده‌ای بخشید. یکی از آنان فریاد زد من پیش آهنگ این کار خواهم شد مشعلها را باید روشن کرد و از توهینی که بمعابد یونان شده انتقام کشید. دیگران گفته او را با دست زدن شدید قطع کردند و جملگی با فریادهای ابلهانه خود گفتند فقط اسکندر لیاقت این کار پر افتخار را دارد. اسکندر که تحت تاثیر سکر شراب قرار گرفته بود و گفتار تملق‌آمیز و چاپلوسانه اطرافیان مخصوصاً رفتار شهوت‌انگیز تائیس بدکاره او را از تعقل و اندیشه‌باز داشته بود بپا خاست و مغرورانه از طالار بیرون رفت و دیگران نیز بدنبال او از طالار صفه پارس بیرون شدند و شادی کنان مشعلهای زیادی

سختی افتاد و هرکس دشمن کسی میشد که غنیمتی بهتر بدست میآورد و چون غنایم بقدری زیاد بود که نمیتوانستند تمامی آنها را برگیرند ناچار غنایم را خوب و بد میکردند و بهترین و گرانبهاترین آنها را بر میداشتند ولی غالباً بر سر اشیاء و ذخایر گرانبها بین آنان نزاع میشد و گاهی اتفاق میافتاد که فی المثل لباس شاهی بدست چند تن مقدونی بد طینت پاره پاره میشد و یا گلدانها و جامهای گرانبها را با تبر خرد میگردند و یا پارچه‌های فاخر و زیبا را از هم میدریدند در نتیجه چنین شد که چیزی بی‌عیب بدست سربازان مقدونی نیافتاد و حتی مجسمه‌ها را شکسته و ظروف را ریز ریز کردند. مقدونیان تنها بغارت و یغما اکتفا نکرده و بکشتن اهالی بی‌پناه و اسرا پرداختند و در نتیجه کشتاری مهیب در گرفت. اهالی پارس که اوضاع را چنین دیدند برخی دست بخودکشی زدند و برای فرار از کینه‌توزی و وحشیگری یونانیان البسه فاخر خود را میپوشیدند و خانه‌های خود را آتش میزدند و با صدای زنده باد ایرانیان خویشتن را از نقاط بلند بزیر میافگندند و بد رود زندگی میگفتند ولی در همین موقع مرگبار نیز پیر مردان شیر دل و زنان شجاع ایرانی که نتوانسته بودند در دفاع از وطن شرکت کنند باسلاح‌هائیکه باختیار داشتند و برخی اوقات با چوب و چماق و وسایل منزل بر مقدونیان حمله میبردند و آن قدر بآنان خسارت وارد میساختند و یا از آنان میکشتند تا خود شربت شهادت مینوشیدند. پس از آنکه کشتار مردم بیگناه پارس مدتی بطول انجامید فاتح مغرور مقدونی امر کرد که دیگر از اشخاص دست باز دارند و با زینت زنان کاری نداشته باشند.

درباره ذخایریکه اسکندر از این ناحیه بدست آورد اقوال مختلفی موجود است که قول دیو دور در اینمورد از همه بیشتر نزدیک بحقیقت است او گفته است ذخایر شهر پارس و صفه تخت جمشید که بتصرف اسکندر درآمد در حدود صد و بیست هزار تالان نقره که بپول کنونی ما قریب ۸۴۰ میلیون تومان میشود بود. از شهر پاسارگاد نیز ششهزار تالان ذخیره بتصرف اسکندر درآمد که

خود به مشورت پرداخت. در این موقع چهار هزار نفر از اسرای یونانی که سابقاً باسارت پارسیها درآمده و غالباً دارای نقص در اعضای بدن بودند باستقبال اسکندر آمدند و باعث تحریک یونانیان بانتقام جوئی از ایرانیان گشتند. روز دیگر اسکندر که در چهار کیلومتری تخت جمشید اردو زده بود سران سپاه خود را گرد آورد و خطاب بآنها چنین گفت ''یونان دشمنی بدتر از پای تخت شاهان پارسی نداشت از اینجا بود که او اردوهای بیشمار پارسی را بوطن ما میریخت. از اینجا بود که داریوش اول و خشیار شاه جنگی را که کفر بود باروپا آوردند. لازم است با خراب کردن این شهر ارواح اجداد خودمان را راضی کنیم،،. این نطق طوری باعث تهییج و تحریک بیشتر مقدونیان برای حمله به تخت جمشید و تاراج اموال اهالی و قتل عام آنان گردید و خسارات غیر قابل جبرانی وارد آورد که تاریخ جهان هیچ وقت این ننگ بزرگ را فراموش نخواهد کرد.

اسکندر پس از پایان نطق تحریک‌آمیز خود به نیروهایش فرمان پیشروی و تصرف و تاراج شهر پارس را صادر کرد و مقدونیان نیز که فقط بآرزوی تصرف خزائن پر بهای ایران و دست یافتن بر اموال مردم ثروتمند این سرزمین رنج راه را بر خود هموار کرده و پس از جنگهای مهیبی که شرح مختصر آن ضمن قبلاً داده شد خود را باین نقطه رسانیده بودند برای آنکه زودتر بشهر رسند یورش سختی آغاز کرده و پس از مغلوب ساختن بقیه نیروها و پادگانهای هخامنشی بشهر وارد شدند و بیرحمانه مشغول قتل عام و تاراج اموال مردم گشتند. مقدونیان قبل از تسخیر پارس با تخت جمشید شهرهای نامی زیادی را بجبر و یا مسالمت تصرف کرده بودند و در آنها ثروت زیادی بدست آورده بودند ولی هیچکدام آن شهرها از حیث ثروت و ذخایر به پای تخت جمشید نمیرسیدند طلا و نقره و انواع جواهرات گرانبها در اینجا رویهم انباشته شده بود و لباسهای گرانبها و اثاثیه و ذخایر آن بیرون از شماره بود. باین مناسبت هنگامیکه بنا بامر اسکندر مقدونیان مشغول غارت شدند درمیان خودشان نفاق

تن سوار و عده‌ای پیاده نظام پارسی با کمال شجاعت و بی‌پروائی خود را بقوای مقدونی زد و پس از آنکه عده زیادی از آنان را بکشت موفق شد که از میان حلقه محاصره آنان بیرون رود . آری برزن پس از شروع از محاصره میخواست با سرعت زیاد بکمک پای تخت بشتابد و قبل از رسیدن سپاه مقدونی آنرا اشغال کند ولی قوائی را که اسکندر بفرماندهی پارسن‌ین از راه جلگه بطرف پارس فرستاده بود بین راه با آری برزن مصادف شدند و مانع اجرای منظور او گشتند . در این موقع این سردار میهن‌پرست و شجاع ایرانی در موقعیت بسیار سخت و بر مخاطره‌ای قرار گرفته بود که هیچگونه راهی برای رهائی از دست دشمن نداشت نمیتوانست خود را بشهر پارس رساند و از آن دفاع کند و نه میتوانست از تعقیب مقدونیان در امان ماند باوجود این وضع یاس‌آور آری برزن رشید و باقیمانده سپاهیان دلیر او راضی به تسلیم نشدند و مرگ را بر تسلیم شدن بر دشمن ترجیح دادند و از جان گذشته و بار دیگر خود را بصفوف مقدونیان زدند و چندان جنگیدند و از سربازان دشمن مقتول ساختند تا شرافتمندانه در راه حفظ استقلال میهن عزیز خود ایران شربت شهادت نوشیدند و برای همیشه شرح جانبازی و رشادت غیر قابل توصیف خود را در صفحات تاریخ پر افتخار ایران باقی گذاردند .

اسکندر پس از آنکه آری و برزن و سپاهیان او را قلع و قمع کرد دیگر مانعی در پیش راه خود نداشت ولی از ترس آنکه مبادا بمانع تازه برخورد نماید با تأنی حرکت میکرد ولی در این احوال نامه‌ای از تیری داد خزانه‌دار تخت جمشید باو رسید که در آن نوشته شده بود چون اهالی شهر خبر یافته اند که اسکندر بزودی وارد خواهد شد قصد دارند خزانه را غارت کنند بنابر این باید عجله کند تا زودتر برسد . اسکندر باوجود خستگی زیادی که از جنگ با آری برزن و عبور از در بند پارس داشت پیاده نظام را عقب گذاشته و با سوار نظام به طرف تخت جمشید پای تخت شاهنشاهان هخامنشی روی آورد . در نزدیکی شهر اسکندر اردو زده و برای تصرف پای تخت ایران با سرداران

با پارسیها شروع کنند ولی عبور از آن تنگه محال بود و مدافعین دلاور آن بمقدونیان مهلت نمیدادند که گامی فراتر نهند و پی در پی جمعی از آنان را بخاک هلاک مینشاندند. اسکندر که حال را چنین دید باکمال شرمساری و در عین حال با منتهای عصبانیت بسربازان خود فرمان عقب نشینی داد و باکمال سختی موفق شد باقیمانده قوای خود را از آن معبر باز گرداند و چون مورد تعقیب سپاهیان آریُ بَرزَنْ قرار داشت بقولی تا یک فرسخ و بقولی تا سه فرسخ مجبور بعقب نشینی گردید. پس از آنکه اسکندر بجلگه برگشت با سران سپاه خود بمشورت پرداخت و سپس از اسرای پارسی شروع بتحقیق کرد ولی هیچکدام از آنها حاضر بخیانت نشدند و از راهی برای وصول پارس جز همانکه آریُ برزن دلیر از او پاسبانی میکرد نشان ندادند تا سرانجام یکی از اسرای بیگانه که مدتی در اسارت ایرانیان بسر برده و در جنگ اخیر ایران و یونان داوطلبانه در اردوی ایران وارد جنگ بر علیه یونانیان شده و بدست آنان اسیر گشته بود در مقابل وعده و وعید اسکندر حاضر شد که او را از کوره راهی به پشت سپاهیان آری برزن برساند. اسکندر که بقول او اعتماد پیدا کرده بود نیمی از قوای خود را در همان محل باقی گذاشت و خود با بقیه قوایش بهدایت آن مرد اسیر از راههای بسیار سختی گذشته و اردوی آری برزن را دور زد و پس از دو روز در قلعه کوهی به نخستین دسته قراولان پارسی برخورد جنگ سختی بین آنان در گرفت و چون صدای ضجه و ناله مجروحین و همهمه جنگ برخواست بقیه قوای اسکندر که در جلگه و نزدیک معبر سابق قرار داشتند شروع حمله کردند و از همه طرف مدافعین پارسی را تحت فشار و محاصره قرار دادند پارسیها با آنکه در محاصره بودند و راه عقب نشینی و پیشروی نداشتند بهیچ وجه تسلیم دشمن نشده و چنان دلیرانه جنگیدند که خاطره شجاعت و فداکاری آنان برای همیشه در تاریخ ایران بیادگار خواهد ماند. این جنگ بحدی مهیب و دفاع و پا فشاری پارسیها بقدری شدید که اسکندر را متحیر و در عین حال مستاصل ساخته بود. در این احوال آری برزن با چهل

جنگ و ستیز بود آنطور که باید تقویتی از مخالفین اسکندر نکرد تا آنکه او بر مخالفین خود غلبه کرد و زمام امور یونان را در دست گرفت و با آنکه در اینوقت خزاین ایران در تخت جمشید (شوش) همدان و بابل و دیگر شهرها از زر و سیم انباشته بود داریوش بر اثر عدم اعتنا با سکندر و وقایع یونان حتی بطور شایسته پادگانهای مدافع شهرهای واقع بین ایران و یونان را هم تقویت و تجهیز نکرد و بدین ترتیب بهترین موقعیتها را از دست داد همین غرور و بی‌اعتنائی داریوش سوم وسائل غلبه اسکندر را بر ایران فراهم ساخت و بطوریکه میدانیم اسکندر پس از یک سلسله جنگهای سهمگین و دادن تلفات زیاد بشوش وارد شد و پس از مطیع ساختن او کسیان نیروهای خود را بر دو قسمت تقسیم کرده (پارسن ین) را با نیمی از سپاه از راه جلگه یعنی از طریق رامهرمز و بهبهان کنونی بطرف پارس فرستاد و خود با سپاهیان سبک اسلحه راه کوهستانی را که بدرون پارس امتداد مییافت پیش گرفت زیرا میخواست قوائی را که پارسیها در این راه آماده کرده بودند و هر آن ممکن بود از پشت سر مقدونیها را مورد هجوم قرار دهند سالم نگذارد با این فکر و نقشه غارت کنان پیشرفت تا وارد در بند پارس شد و خود را به معبر شوش و پارس که ظاهراً کوه کیلویه کنونی است رسانید. این محل را (آریُ بَرزَنْ) سردار رشید ایرانی با ۲۵ هزار نفر سپاهی اشغال کرده و منتظر بود که اسکندر با قوای خود وارد معبر شود تا او جنگ را شروع کند. هنگامیکه مقدونیان بنقطه‌ای رسیدند که منظور نظر سردار پارسی بود. پارسیها سنگهای بزرگ را از بالای کوه بزیر غلطانیدند. این سنگها با قوت هرچه تمامتر پایین میآمد و درمیان مقدونیان میافتاد و گروهی را پس از گروه دیگر درمیان خاک و خون میغلطانید علاوه بر این مدافعین دلیر معبر از هر طرف باران سنگ و تیر و فلاخن بر مقدونیان میباریدند و تلفات زیاد بر دشمن وارد میساختند. مقدونیان که خود را در دام مرگباری میدیدند فوق العاده در خشم شده و میکوشیدند هرچه زودتر خود را از آن مهلکه نجات بخشند و جنگ تن بتن را

محله شمالی شهر پارس یک آستانه در و دو جرز و طاق یک در سنگی وسیع اما کوتاه کشف شده که فوق العاده جالب توجه است زیرا دارای حجاری نفیس است که شرح آن چنین است: یک فراته‌دار پارس-یعنی حکمران یا پادشاه دست نشانده پارس در زمان سلوکیها و پارتیها با زوجه‌اش یا ملکه با برسمی بدست بحال نماز ایستاده اند. این نقش از چند جهت مهم است نخست آنکه تنها صورت زنی است که از پارس و تخت جمشید بدست آمده و دیگر آنکه در ایران تنها نمونه حجاری بعد از اسکندر است و یگانه دلیل است بر آنکه شهر پارس باوجود تمام مصائبی که بر آن وارد آمده بوده بعد از حریق صفحه تخت جمشید هم مسکونی بوده است و اما جریان حمله لشکرکشی اسکند، بشهر پارس و آتش زدن تخت جمشید چنین بوده است که اسکندر پس از آنکه زمام امور یونان را بدست گرفت از ترس طغیان سرداران خود و برای آنکه از بیکاری و شورش قوای خویش جلوگیری کند نقشه حمله بایران را در مغز خود پرورا ند و در مقدونیه مجلسی از سرداران و دوستان خیلی نزدیک و معتمد خود تشکیل داد و نقشه جنگ با ایران را با آنان درمیان نهاد و احساساتشان را بر علیه ایران برانگیخت و جملگی را راضی بلشکرکشی باین کشور کرده از طرف دیگر داریوش سوم آخرین پادشاه هخامنشی کمی قبل از کشته شدن فیلیپ پدر اسکندر بتخت سلطنت ایران نشست و در صدد لشکرکشی بیونان و جنگ با فیلیپ برآمد ولی چون در این اوقات فیلیپ درگذشت و پسر جوانش بسلطنت یونان رسید داریوش خیالش از جانب مقدونیه آسوده شد و گمان نمیکرد که اسکندر هیچگاه خطری برای ایران ایجاد کند اما کمی بعد خبر فتوحات اسکندر در اطراف مقدونیه بایران رسید و داریوش در صدد جنگ با یونان برآمد و لشکریان او توانستند شکستهائی بر یونانیان وارد آورند. این پیروزمندیها زمانی اتفاق افتاد که اسکندر در مقدونیه یا یونان بود و چنانکه از وقایع بر می‌آید دربار ایران بسبب اغتشاشهای داخلی و یا بواسطه آنکه اهمیت زیاد بامور مقدونیه نمیداد در هنگامیکه یونانیان علم طغیان برافراشته و با اسکندر مشغول

وجود داشته که به باغهای معلق بابل شبیه بوده است در نزدیکی قصر هدش قصر کوچک داریوش موسوم به (تچره) یا تچر و طزر است که در صحن دوم قرار دارد تچر در پارسی بمعنی قصر زمستانی است. سطح قصر مربع مستطیلی است که رو بجنوب ساخته شده جدار رواقها و طاقچه‌های متعدد آن دارای حجاری‌های زیاد و کتیبه‌های فراوان است و چون سنگهای آن صیقلی و بسیار زیبا بوده پاره‌ای این قصر را آئینه‌خانه میدانند. بنای دیگری نیز در جبهه جنوب شرقی تچر دیده میشود که نقشه ساختمان آن کاملاً شبیه به تچر است که بظن قوی متعلق بملکه بوده در اطراف این قصر نیز حجاری‌های زیادی دیده میشود که غالباً شبیه بحجاریهای تچر است در سالهای اخیر بوسیله اداره کل باستانشناسی محل سربازان جاویدان که گارد سلطنتی هخامنشیان بوده اند و جایگاه اصطبل سلطنتی و مقداری از اطاقهای خدمه درباری کشف شده و اکنون آقای سامی بنمایندگی اداره مذکور مشغول حفاری بقیه تپه‌های موجود در تخت جمشید هستند که امید میرود از زیر آنها نیز آثار مهم دیگری که ارزش تاریخی زیاد داشته باشد کشف شود. در دامنه کوه مشرف بصفه تخت جمشید چند دخمه در سنگ تراشیده شده که جلو آنها مانند قصور حجاری شده است این دخمه‌ها مدفن سه نفر از آخرین پادشاهان دودمان هخامنشی بوده که مانند قبور سایر سلاطین هخامنشی در زمان هجوم مقدونیان اشیاء موجود در آنها بتاراج رفته و اسکلتهای موجود در آن قبور نیز نابوده شده است.

بطوریکه قبلاً توضیح داده شد یونانیان شهر پارس را (پرس پلیس) یعنی منهدم کنند شهرها نامیده اند و اکنون نیز در غالب آثار بیگانگان این شهر و باقیمانده آثار تخت جمشید بنام پرس پلیس موسوم است. شهر پارس در زمان هخامنشیان بسیار آباد و ثروتمند بوده و در حدود ۳۵۰ سال قبل از میلاد مسیح و اندکی بعد از آتش زدن صفحه تخت جمشید ویران و متروک گشته است. آثاریکه از این شهر بدست آمده مؤید عظمت و ثروت فوق العاده این شهر است و غالب بناهای این شهر مانند قصور تخت جمشید ساخته شده بود. در حد غربی

تابع ایران قرار دارد و ظاهراً این شاه داریوش کبیر است و در پشت سر او خشایار شاه که بولیعهدی منصوب و بنای پارس یا تخت جمشید مأمور بوده است دیده میشود چند نقشه دیگر هم بر دیوارهای باقیمانده این طالار موجود است که برای جلوگیری از اطاله کلام از دادن شرح آنها در اینجا خودداری میشود . این بنا کلیه قصور کوچک اندرونی را که در طرف مغرب واقع اند از قصور بزرگ قسمت بیرونی مجزا میکند. نزدیک این محل تپه مرکزی قرار دارد که ابتدای آن بلندترین قسمت صفه است و باحتمال قوی مرکز عبادت کاخ بوده . در جنوب این تل صحنی دیده میشود که بلندتر از سطح سه‌دری است و از جانب مشرق پله‌کان زیبائی میرسد که بحجاریهای نفیس مزین است و از کتیبه‌ای که در اینجا است معلوم میشود از ساختمانهای خشایار شاه است . در طرف جنوب جبهه اصلی صفه تخت جمشید قصری نمایان است که در کتیبه‌ها (هَدِشْ) نامیده شده که معنی آن کوشک و نشیمنگاه است سطح این قصر مربع مستطیلی است که در کوه کنده شده و دارای اطاقهای متعددی است که بعضی از آنها دارائی ستونهای چوبی هستند . این قسمت حرمسرای سلطنتی بوده و باستانشناسانی که در تخت جمشید مشغول حفاری و اکتشاف بوده اند تمام اطاقهای این قسمت را از روی قراین مانند دوره آبادی تجدید بنا کرده اند و اکنون چند اطاق آن بموزه تبدیل شده و قسمتی از اشیاء و الواحی که در دوره‌های مختلف در تخت جمشید کشف شده است در آنجا نگاهداری میشود . اشیائیکه در اینجا جمع‌آوری شده یک صفحه درخشان از تاریخ پر افتخار ایران باستان را در برابر دیدگان واردین میگشاید ولی در آنجا چیزهائی هم یافته میشود که هر ایرانی شرافتمند و بیننده منصفی را سخت متأثر میسازد آن چیزها عبارتند از اشیاء نیم سوخته و ذغال و خاکستر کاخ با عظمت پارس یا تخت جمشید که بآتش خشم و حسد یک جوان نادان و مغرور یعنی اسکندر مقدونی و بدست یک زن بد عمل سوخته و یکی از ننگین‌ترین فجایع تاریخی را ببار آورده است در جبهه جنوبی هدش تفرجگاه و باغهای زیبائی

و قسمت سوم بشکل دو گاو نیم تنه که بر روی دو دست نشسته و پشت خود را بیکدیگر چسپانده اند ساخته شده و سر تیرهای سقف که از سرو ناز بوده بر روی پشت آنها قرار داشته است. در ضلع شمالی و شرقی و غربی قصر نیز رواقهائی بوده که هر یک دوازده ستون در دو ردیف داشته اند.

در سمت مشرق صفه و جبهه چپ کاخ اپدانه دومین کاخ بار هخامنشیان قرار داشته که کتیبه ندارد ولی بواسطه صفات ممیزه‌اش آنرا قصر ۱۰۰ ستون نامیده اند این قصر با دو سریر بزرگ مساوی بنا شده و ارتفاع آن کمتر از اپدانه است و باوجود زیادی عده ستونها مساحت مجموع این بنا نیز از سطح بنای اپدانه کمتر است. ظاهراً در زوایای این کاخ نیز چند اطاق و رواق وجود داشته. سقف این طالار بر روی ۱۰ ردیف در ۱۰ ردیف ستون استوار بوده که اکنون فقط پا سنگهای آن بجا مانده و چون عقیده برخی برآنست که ستونهای این کاخ چوبی بوده میتوان حدس زد که در سوقع آتش سوزی تخت جمشید سوخته و از بین رفته است. اما در قصر صد ستون از وجود ۱۱ در و پنجره و طاقچه که از سنگ در هر طرف تراشیده شده دیوارها را بهتر میتوان وارسی کرد. بر هر دیوار این کاخ دو در است و بر جرزهای آن نقوش مهمی نقر شده که ارزش تاریخی زیاد دارد و چون تصاویر آن با کمی تفاوت مانند تصاویر راهرو کاخ اپدانه است که شرح آن قبلاً داده شد در اینجا از ذکر خصوصیات این تصاویر خودداری میشود هنگامیکه از جلوی صفه و دو کاخی که شرح آنها داده شد بگذریم بقسمت خصوصی صفه یعنی اندرون آن میرسیم. اندرون صفه گذشته از چند در فرعی کوچک راهی بخارج نداشته جز بنائی که هنوز سه در آن باقی است و آن نزدیک زاویه جنوب غربی طالار صد ستون است. در اینجا قسمتی که هنوز پابر جا است طالار مربع شکلی میباشد که سقف آن بر چهار ستون استوار بوده. بر جرز در ورود این طالار که رو بمشرق باز میشود نقشی بسیار زیبا و منحصر بفرد دیده میشود که شاه را بر تختی نشسته نشان میدهد که بر روی دست ۲۸ نفر از نمایندگان ممالک

سر در بزرگ وارد محوطه‌ای میشویم که در سابق باغ سبز و با صفائی بوده و حوض سنگی بزرگی داشته است که اکنون آثار آن باقی است. در انتهای این محوطه سر در قصر مجللی دیده میشود که بکاخ سلام خشایار شاه یا آپدانه که بعضی آنرا آپادانا گویند قرار دارد سطح طالار اپدانه قریب چهار متر از سطح سر در بزرگ صفه بلندتر است و برای آنکه داخل طالار شویم باید از یک پلکان دو طرفی عبور کنیم که دیوارهای آن بنقوشی مزین است در اینجا کتیبه‌ای از خشایار شاه وجود است. مابین پهلوهای پله‌کان دو طرفی در وسط شکل ۸ تن مستحفظ هخامنشی حجاری شده که در دو صفه روبروی یکدیگر ایستاده اند و در مثلثهای پیش بست صورت شیری که یک گاو را پاره میکند و سپس یک ردیف درخت سرو دیده میشود. درست راست دیوار مجلس بزرگی نمایان است که صف طویلی از نمایندگان ملل تابع ایران در زمان هخامنشیان را نشان میدهد که در روز عید نوروز باجها و هدایای خود را برای تقدیم بحضور شاهنشاه آورده اند در طرف چپ دیوار نیز صف طولانی دیگری از مستحفظین پارسی و مادی و خوزی وغیره دیده میشود که منتظر دسته‌های مذکور هستند. بلندترین ردیف سنگهای این نقش که ضمناً محجر جلو قصر هم بوده اکنون از میان رفته ولی چند قطعه از آنها در بین خاکهای پای دیوار کشف شده و چند قطعه دیگر آنهم بین سالهای ۱۸۱۰ و ۱۵ میلادی بوسیله سیاحان انگلیسی بموزه لندن منتقل شده و اکنون در آنجا موجود است. کاخ سلام خشایارشا دارای چندین ستون بوده که غالب آنها هنوز پا بر جا است تمام پا سنگها و قسمت زیرین درهای سه‌گانه قصر نیز مصون مانده. این قصر دارای طالار مرکزی مربع شکلی بوده که سقف آن بر روی ۳۶ ستون در شش ردیف قرار داشته. ارتفاع هر ستون ۱۸ متر و قطر پای آنها ۲ متر است. این ستونها دارای پا سنگ مکعب و بد نه‌ایست که بطرح قاشقی تراشیده شده سر ستونهای آن مرکب از چند پارچه است یکی اصل سر ستون و دیگری قطعه‌ای که بشکل مار پیچ قسمت اول و دوم را اتصال میدهد

بوسیله این مجرا آب آشامیدنی بقصر جاری میشده است تمام سطح ها و بلندیهای صفه دارای یک نوع آب در رو یا فاضل آب وسیعی است که در سنگ کنده شده. دیوار نگاهدارنده صفه تقریباً نیم کیلومتر طول دارد و در بعضی نقاط بلندی آن به ۱۳ متر میرسد که از سنگهای بزرگ ساخته شده. این سنگها بیک اندازه نیستند ولی طوری تراشیده شده اند که کاملاً بهم متصل و یکپارچه بنظر میآیند. مدخل اصلی قصر دارای دو پلکان دو طرفه است که از سنگهای بزرگ ساخته شده این پلکان کم ارتفاع و پهن و بسیار زیبا بنا شده و طوری است که در آن واحد جمعیت زیادی میتوانسته اند با کمال سهولت از آن بگذرند و یا عده‌ای سوار با نهایت آسانی از آن عبور کنند در قسمت بالای پله‌ها آثار یک نرده فلزی دیده میشود که بدور سر پلکان میگشته است. در بالای پله‌های اصلی ورودی تخت جمشید سر در قصر خشایارشا واقع است که در طرفین آن چهار گاو بالدار که دارای سر انسانی هستند و تقلیدی از اسلوب ساختمانی آشوریها است حجاری شده و بر بالای سر گاوها بسه زبان نوشته شده (وِسْ دَهیو) یعنی همه کشورها. این در از چهار طرف راه داشته و سقف آنرا چهار ستون نگاه میداشته است. در اینجا کتیبه‌ای دیده میشود که مضمونش چنین است: ”خشایار شاه،، شاه بزرگ ”شاه شاهان،، شاه ممالکی که ملل گوناگون دارد ”شاه این سرزمین بزرگ و پهناور،، بفضل اهورامزدا این سر در را که تمام ممالک را نشان میدهد ساخت. چیزهای مهم دیگر نیز در این پارسا (یعنی این محل) ساخته شده که من و پدرم بنا کرده‌ایم ”هر بنائی که دارای منظره زیبا است تمامی آنرا بفضل اهورامزدا ما ساخته‌ایم،، نکته‌ای که از این عبارات مفهوم میشود اینست که شاهان هخامنشی سعی داشته اند در بناهای عظیم و قابل تحسین خود زیبائی را با صنعت و عظمت توام کنند. موضوع دیگری که از عبارات این کتیبه بر میآید آنست که بنای قصر و عمارات این صفه یکجا طرح ریزی شده و ساختمان آن در زمان داریوش شروع شده و در هنگام سلطنت خشایار شاه ختم شده است پس از عبور از این

تخت جمشید و تحولات تاریخی آن

اثر خامهٔ آقای ابوالفضل مرعشی - تهران

در دامنه کوه رحمت واقع در جلگه وسیع مرو دشت فارس ٦٦ کیلومتری شیراز خرابه‌های تخت جمشید قرار دارد که بزرگترین آثار معماری و مجسمه‌سازی و تمدن ایران باستان در آنجا نمایان است و دوره با عظمت شاهنشاهی هخامنشیان را در برابر دیدگان واردین مجسم میسازد. اسم صحیح این محل تاکنون معلوم نگشته ولی یونانیان آنرا پرسپولیس که در زبان یونانی بمعنی منهدم کننده شهرها است نامیده اند ولی در منابع اولیه و کتیبه‌های ایرانی این محل غالباً به پارس یا پارسا معرفی گشته است ولی قدر مسلم آنست که اسم کنونی آن یعنی تخت جمشید از قرون بعد و ظاهراً بعد از اسلام متداول شده. آثار کنونی تخت جمشید عبارت از قلعه یا ارکی است که در زمان آبادی قصر سلطنتی بوده و در زمان هجوم مقدونیان بآتش خشم اسکندر سوخته و ویران گشته است خرابه‌های کنونی پرسپولیس یا پارس بدو قسمت منقسم میشود قسمتی نزدیک قلعه و قسمتی دیگر در حسین کوه است که آن طرف رود پُلوار واقع شده. خود صفّه از طرف مشرق پشت بدامنه کوه رحمت داده و از سه طرف دیگر مشرف بمرو دشت است و دو سیلگاه که از کوه بیرون میآید از طرف شمال و جنوب صفه را احاطه کرده. طول بزرگترین ضلع این صفه ۴۵۰ متر و منتهای عرض آن اندکی کمتراز ۳۰۰ متر است و مساحت این صفه یا باصطلاح اروپائی تراس قریب ۱۳۰ هزار متر مربع است. ارتفاع این صفه در همه جا یکسان نیست و بلندترین قسمتهای آن به ۱۸ متر میرسد. سه طرف این صفّه در کوه تراشیده شده و از کتیبه‌ای که در جبهه جنوبی آن دیده میشود چنین بر میآید که از داریوش کبیر است. در پای کوه چاه بسیار بزرگ و راه آبی دیده میشود که در سنگ کنده شده. این راه آب از دره استخر شروع میشود و بقصر میرسد و از قراین میتوان گفت